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THE BIBLE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH WITH THE SANCTION AND ASSISTANCE OF THE AUTHORS.

BY

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED, M.A.

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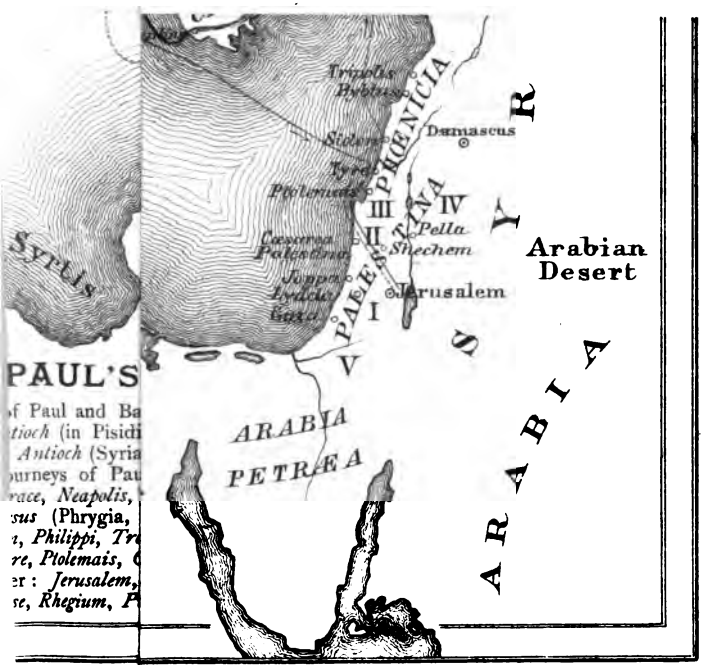

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THE BIBLE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE.

BY

DR. H. OORT,

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW ANTIQUITIES AT LEIDEN,

AND

DR. I. HOOYKAAS,

PASTOR AT ROTTERDAM,

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

DR. A. KUENEN,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT LEIDEN.

VOL. VI.

NARRATIVES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—II.

PREPARED BY DR. I. HOOYKAAS.

Authorised Translation.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
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Book I.

JESUS

(CONTINUED).

Chapter XXIX.

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But as bands of pilgrims passed along the road, drawing nearer with every step to the goal of their journey, for which they had longed with such eager expectation, we may be sure that they seldom or never allowed themselves to be appalled or even depressed by the scenery through which they passed; and least of all would it disturb the high-wrought enthusiasm and joyous expectations of the caravan we are now accompanying in fancy. How many a heart leapt up in transport; how many a bosom panted with

[1] Mark xi. 1—11, 15—18; Luke xix. 28—40, 45—48.

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impatience; how many a straining eye saw nothing of precipitous cliffs or barren gorges, but was filled by the dazzling vision of a splendid coronation and the glorious dominion it would inaugurate! Can we not picture the companions of Jesus on this last day of the journey; some of them quiet, as if plunged in thought; some of them engaged in animated conversation; yet others with joyous cries from sacred songs upon their lips, but almost all in growing tension of excitement?

And Jesus himself? It is extremely difficult to pierce the veil of his thoughts. One thing, however, is certain, that Luke is mistaken in making him bewail the impenitence of the city and foretell its future destruction by the Romans in minute detail[1] as soon as he approaches and beholds it; for the city's impenitence had not as yet appeared, and Luke is evidently confounding the feelings which inspired Jesus a week or two later, after the failure of his efforts, with those of his first approach to the city. We shall be nearer the truth in thinking of Jesus as suspended between hope and fear, alternately contemplating the possibility of success and failure during these last hours; but the fact that he did nothing to check the enthusiasm of his followers, and presently entered upon the contest in such a lofty mood himself, appears to indicate that for the time hope, if not supreme, was at least predominant in his mind; which is indeed no more than we should expect. Here again Luke has confounded the expectation with the result; for he has put into the mouth of Jesus, a few hours before, a parable expressly designed to correct the impression that since he had now almost reached Jerusalem the kingdom of God would immediately come.[2] In spite of its inappositeness, however, we will give this parable here. It is that of the minæ, or pounds. A mina represents about £3. 6s.; and to understand the story we must further

[1] Luke xix. 41—44. [2] Luke xix. 11.

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note that in those times there was nothing strange in the idea of a man's going to Rome to receive at the Emperor's hands the appointment to the vacant throne of some tributary state. Thirty years ago Archelaus had done this very thing and had been appointed ruler of Judæa and the two neighbouring districts in spite of the opposition of the Jews, who had sent ambassadors to implore Augustus to spare them the imposition of a Herod. There is an obvious reference to all this in the parable, which runs as follows:[1]

A certain man of noble birth set out for a distant land, to be invested with the regal dignity and then return. But first he summoned ten of his slaves, and gave them each a mina to trade with during his absence. It was only a trifle; but his object was simply to make a trial of their fidelity, zeal, and ability, since he would soon be wanting faithful servants as governors. Now, when he had set out, his fellow citizens sent an embassy after him to inform his suzerain that they did not want him as their prince, for they hated him; but their protest was in vain. So when the nobleman returned as king, he summoned the ten slaves, to see what they had accomplished. The first had increased his stock by ten minæ, the second by five, and so on, for which they were all rewarded by the warm approval of their master, and by appointments to governorships of ten, five, or such other number of cities as corresponded with their deserts. Then he ordered the enemies who had tried to prevent his becoming king to be brought into his presence, and cut down before his eyes.[2]

The meaning evidently is that Jesus was not going to ascend the Messianic throne in Jerusalem at once, but must first go up to heaven, there to receive the kingship from God, for such was the faith of the Apostolic age,[3] and that on his

[1] Luke xix. 12–27. [2] See Vol. V., pp. 389, 390.
[3] Compare Acts ii. 36; iii. 20, 21, &c.

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return he would reward his faithful servants and inflict a fearful punishment upon the rebellious Jews. The story was certainly never told by Jesus. It is an imitation (and not a very successful one) of the parable of the talents,[1] and this accounts for the introduction of an episode which so disturbs the progress of the narrative that we designedly omitted it. It is this: One of the slaves came with his mina and said that he had wrapped it in a cloth and hidden it, because he knew his master was a hard and unjust man. His master, therefore, punished him, and rebuked him for not having put his money in the bank, after which he astonished all present by ordering the mina to be given to the most enterprising of the other servants, who had gained ten extra minæ already. Now all this was well enough in the parable of the talents, for there the master gave his servants charge of all his possessions, and even the least favoured of them had to manage a considerable sum; but here the smallness of the amount in question makes the whole proceeding inappropriate, and it would simply be ridiculous to show additional respect for the governor of ten cities by a present of—three guineas!

But let us return to Jesus and his fellow-travellers. We have already said that the master made no attempt to check the enthusiasm of his friends; and when they had exchanged the wilderness of Jericho for a less-forbidding district, when their eyes rested on the Mount of Olives, behind which they knew the holy city lay, when they had passed through Bethany, on the eastern slope, half hidden amongst its noble trees and undulating verdure, their excitement rose at last to its culminating point! Jesus had sent for an ass, upon which to ride into the city; and, in lieu of a saddle, some of his disciples had folded their cloaks and laid them on the ass's back for him to sit on. Then they ascended the ridge between the Mount of Olives and the Mount of Offence,

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 211, 212.

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and there the City of God, so loved, so praised in the songs of Israel, lay stretched before them in all its glory! What colossal walls and mighty towers rising from the precipitous rock! What luxurious palaces and entrancing pleasure grounds! But above and before all else the eye was dazzled and the heart enthralled by the temple of the Lord; an imposing and marvellous erection, even to the heathen, but to the Israelite the very consummation of holiness and glory upon earth, his greatest pride and his deepest joy! There was the temple area with its noble colonnades; and on the highest terrace there stood the sanctuary itself, with its glittering parapets of snow-white marble, tipped with the tapering golden spikes and plated on all sides with sheets of gold, shining beneath the sunbeams, now like a mountain of snow, now like a sea of fire! How could such a sight fail to call forth a general outburst of enthusiasm? The sacred spot was reached where the kingdom of God would be established, and on the very instant honour and glory must be rendered to him who brought that kingdom! Most of the company threw off their upper garments and laid them in the way, for the ass to step upon, whilst others strewed the path with leaves and branches from the neighbouring fields; and, as they waved the palm-branches in their hands, those that went before and those that followed him sang in alternation the song of praise:

Hosanna!
Bless him that comes in the name of the Lord!
Bless the approaching kingdom of David our father.
Hosanna in the highest!

With such shouts of triumph they turned northwards along the slopes of the Mount of Olives, past Bethphage that was reckoned part of the sacred ground of the City of the Temple, by the Garden of Gethsemane, then down across the bridge over the Kidron, and up the hill again, through the

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Sheep-gate, into Jerusalem! It was no new thing at Jerusalem to see caravans of pilgrims drawing near with exuberant signs of delight; but such an entry as this must have caused no little commotion, "Who is it?" people asked in curiosity and amazement as the procession, chiefly composed of Galilæans, passed them by, and the central figure drew all eyes upon him. And the crowd of triumphant Galilæans answered: "It is the mighty prophet, Jesus, from Nazareth in Galilee!"

Before accompanying Jesus and his disciples through the streets of the city, to the temple, we must make a few remarks in justification of the account we have given of their entry; for it departs in several particulars from the narratives of the Gospels, which do not always agree with each other.

According to Luke the disciples of Jesus cry: "Blessed be the king who comes in the name of the Lord! Peace be in heaven, and glory in the highest!"[1] upon which certain Pharisees who are present request the master to forbid them; but he replies: "I tell you that if they held their peace, the very stones would cry out!" One does not quite see what had brought the Pharisees thus early into the presence of Jesus, and his short and stern reply strikes us as an implied rebuke, and a kind of echo of the wail over Jerusalem's impenitence, already mentioned. At any rate this question and answer can hardly have been uttered upon this occasion.

A second point is of more importance. All the gospels make Jesus, upon reaching the Mount of Olives, dispatch two of his friends to the village that lies before them, presumably Bethphage, to fetch him an ass's colt, which, he says, they will find at the entrance of the village, tied up. If anyone asks them what they are doing, they are to answer, "The lord requires it," and they will be no further molested.

[1] Compare Luke ii. 14.

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Now, this story implies either a previous arrangement with the owner of the colt, or divine fore-knowledge on the part of Jesus; and, when we consider all the circumstances and remember that Jesus was a stranger in the village, the former supposition becomes almost as unsatisfactory as the latter. Moreover, Mark and Luke not only add that the bystanders or the owners of the colt did actually challenge the arbitrary proceedings of the disciples, but also say that, according to Jesus himself, no one had ever ridden on the beast before. The idea is, of course, that it would not otherwise have been holy enough for him;[1] but anyone can see how ill-suited an unbroken colt would be for carrying Jesus in the midst of so excited a procession.

But Matthew's account is the most extraordinary of all; for he makes Jesus send for *two* beasts, an ass and a colt, and ride upon them both! This is because he sees in the event the literal fulfilment of a prophecy in Zechariah,[2] in which, by a curious blunder, he supposes that two animals are mentioned. He renders it: "Say to the daughter of Sion: Behold thy king is coming to thee, gentle, riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of a beast of burden." We may note in passing that one of the earliest Ecclesiastical Fathers, running off upon the sound, actually quotes a verse from Jacob's blessing to prove that the ass was bound to a vine-tree;[3] and after all this is only carrying out the practice, habitual to the Jewish-Christian evangelist himself, of using the scriptures of the Old Testament as materials for the life of Jesus.[4] We need therefore pay no further attention to the details given in Matthew; but, on the other hand, the coincidence between this prophecy of the Messiah as the

[1] Compare Numbers xix. 2; Deuteronomy xxi. 3; 1 Samuel vi. 7; and Luke xxiii. 53; John xix. 41.

[2] Zechariah ix. 9. See Vol. III., p. 335; compare Isaiah lxii. 11.

[3] Genesis xlix. 11.

[4] See Vol. V., p. 46.

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prince of peace and the mode in which Jesus entered the city, is sufficiently remarkable to suggest the question whether he himself had the words of Zechariah in his mind. Did he enter the city upon an ass expressly to show that, though he claimed to be the Messiah, it was not as an earthly potentate who would more fitly ride a war-horse, but rather as a peacebearer? This is not impossible, but neither does it seem very probable; for riding on an ass was so very common a mode of travelling that Jesus can hardly have calculated upon those who saw him thinking of the prophecy in question and divining his meaning. Nor is it even certain that his disciples expressly greeted him as the Messiah in person upon this occasion; for though Matthew makes them cry "Hosanna to the son of David," it is doubtful whether Jesus was ever really addressed by this title during his lifetime,[1] and the Evangelist himself appears to contradict his own account immediately afterwards when he makes the exultant disciples answer the question of the people of Jerusalem by saying not, "This is the Messiah!" but "This is the prophet from Nazareth!"

In a word, the whole thing seems to have happened quite simply. The ass—a much finer and more swift-footed animal, and far more highly esteemed, in the East than with ourselves—was the animal ordinarily ridden in Palestine, as the horse is here; and though we cannot tell how Jesus came to have the opportunity or the wish to ride into Jerusalem, there is nothing in the least extraordinary in either the one or the other. Perhaps he thought this mode of entry more suitable to the dignity of the occasion than walking. In the same spirit he refrained from checking his disciples' cries of triumph. Nothing could be more natural than for the latter to sing a few lines of the hundred and eighteenth psalm in his honour, for it was often sung at the Feast of Tabernacles

[1] See Vol. V., p. 47.

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and other festivals. Hosanna in verse 25—properly *hoshi-anna, i.e.*, "Help, then!" or "Save us!"—was a form of invoking a blessing or expressing joy, and the following verse was originally a greeting offered by the priests to the visitors of the temple. But after all, even if Jesus was not expressly called the Messiah, it was nevertheless a Messianic entry into Jerusalem; for at any rate he was conducted into the City of the Temple, amidst the acclamations of his followers, as the prophet who would bring the Messianic kingdom. The Twelve, of course, would look upon him, in that case, as the Anointed of the Lord himself, whereas the rest may have formed the same conception in some cases and divergent ones in others.[1] It is not without reason, therefore, that the Christian Church attaches great importance to this event, and consecrates the Sunday before Easter to its memory. The day is fixed in accordance with the indications of the fourth Gospel, and is called Palm Sunday after the commemorative palm branches with which the churches are decorated. Finally, when Matthew says that "the whole city was moved," we must look upon his words as a natural exaggeration, and need not be surprised to find that this triumphal entry does not seem to have been so much as mentioned at the trial of Jesus; for though it made a deep impression upon his followers at the time, the great majority of the people of Jerusalem would not pay the least attention to it.

So Jesus, of Nazareth in Galilee, had entered Jerusalem at the head of his followers, and they had greeted him as the prophet who came to inaugurate the kingdom of God. They themselves, of course, made straight for the temple; but the question was whether their enthusiasm would infect the people of God's city, and force them to join their procession and take up their cries of joy, while Jesus advanced towards

[1] Compare Vol. V., pp. 400, 401, and Acts iii. 22 ff.

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Israel's sanctuary and finally entered its gates! It can hardly surprise us that nothing of the kind took place. The people of Jerusalem looked on in surprise, or ran together here and there, in half-contemptuous curiosity to witness these demonstrations of Galilæan excitement, but that was all. No doubt this was a great disappointment to the friends of Jesus, if not to himself; but the future might make up for the present they thought.

To the temple then! They had only a few streets to pass through before reaching one of the gates that opened into the consecrated area. Here Jesus dismounted. What were his thoughts as he stood there? His foot was now to rest upon the spot which, as his contemporaries thought, had been for thousands of years the sole earthly abode of the Eternal, the Lord of heaven. It was not, indeed, for the first time. He had doubtless visited the temple more than once in early life. The impression he received on the first occasion must have been overwhelming. National reminiscences and the force of tradition added impressiveness to the grand proportions and the magnificent architecture and adornments of the Temple; and when the devout young Galilæan entered the court of the heathens, and cast his eye over the extended area, surrounded by double and triple rows of columns, each four-and-thirty feet in height, each hewed from a single block of the whitest marble, and wainscoated with cedar; when he gazed on the tesselated pavement that covered the whole open space, and on the terrace in the centre, that none but the sons of the chosen people might ascend; when he looked yet further and beheld the second terrace, upon which stood the court of the priests and the sanctuary itself; when he saw what inestimable treasures had been lavished upon everything, how exquisitely each detail had been executed, and with what marvellous art the whole had been blended together, must not his senses have almost reeled? But his subsequent visits would

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produce an ever-growing sense of want and dissatisfaction, in proportion as his own religious life developed; and his aversion to the formality which reigned uncontrolled in the temple must have constantly risen. It was perhaps a long time now since he had been there; and, as he raised his foot once more over the consecrated threshold, he felt afresh that, in opening the treasure-house of his spirit to the people and bringing them true salvation, he must in appearance act the part of a destroyer, and in the name of Moses and the prophets must pronounce the sentence of condemnation upon this dead religion. He could not look upon the temple with the indifferent eye of a stranger. He, if anyone, felt the inseparable tie of a common faith with the pious generations who had worshipped there. His heart overflowed with mingled and conflicting emotions. In this primeval seat of Israel's worship he must appear as the messenger of the Lord, must demand an absolute renovation, must announce the approaching judgment, must preach the gospel of the kingdom. . . . .

In sacred transport he entered the temple, with gait erect and beaming eye, followed by his disciples.

What a scene it was that met him! Not only the press of coming and going pilgrims, here approaching with their beasts for sacrifice, here pushing their way one against another, and here raising their songs of praise,—all which he could have borne,—but the clatter and chaffer of a fair! The jostling and shouting of the market place had drowned the voice of devotion! For here in the outer court stood the booths of the cattle dealers, of the traders in wine, oil, corn, incense, salt, and other requisites for sacrifice, and of the money brokers who changed the coins of the various districts from which the faithful had streamed to the temple, for the didrachma of the temple duty or for Greek and Roman coins. It was vain to expect any feeling for the sanctity of the place in these men. They simply came there to make what they

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could, and too often deliberately reckoned upon cheating the pilgrims by demanding extortionate prices for their wares, or taking advantage of their ignorance of the exchange value of the coinage. And, even when there was no cheating, the clatter of voices, clinking of money, bleating and lowing of beasts, filled the court!—May be the dealers and money-changers looked for more business yet from the arrival of another caravan of pilgrims, with the sacred chant upon their lips.

Now Jesus knew what always went on here. He had been distressed by this temple-market before. But when we remember the mood in which he entered the temple, we can well believe that the scene now made him boil with indignation as it had never done before. The impulse to put an end to it rose strong within him. Had not God set him his task that moment? He did not check the impulse, but gave it rein. Irresistible in his sacred wrath he drove the huxters and dealers through the gate, overturned the tables of the money-changers, while their coins rolled along the ground, and threw down the seats of the dove-sellers. . . . . .

Never yet, we may be sure, had his followers seen him with that flashing eye, that arm extended in command, as one of the prophets of old! And to make the resemblance more striking yet, to prove that he was consciously treading in the footsteps of the prophets, and was urged by their spirit, he seconded his deeds by words taken from two well-known prophetic sayings of the ancient times:[1] "It is written: My house shall be called a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves."

This last expression obviously refers to the dishonest practices to which the love of gain gave rise. But it may well be asked how Jesus could possibly cleanse the temple in this way single-handed. Why did all these people tamely submit

[1] Isaiah lvi. 7; Jeremiah vii. 11.

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to being expelled? How came it that the temple-guard, who had to keep order within the sacred precincts, did not intervene, and put the disturber of the peace under restraint, or at least expel him? Now, it is perfectly true that a fortnight later, in the week before the Passover, such a proceeding would have been simply and utterly impossible, for at that season there was an indescribable crush of visitors, and we may gain some idea of the amount of trade that was carried on from the fact that the lambs alone were counted by the thousand; but, when Jesus expelled the traders, they may not have been so numerous as one might at first suppose. Then we must remember that the hallowed zeal which carried him away so suddenly, extorted such submission, at any rate for the moment, that resistance was impossible; and besides, his commanding personality borrowed at least the appearance of material support from his numerous followers; for, though they took no direct part in the work, their presence rendered any attempt at violent resistance unadvisable.

As for the action itself, its purport was not confined to the removal of offensive and inharmonious surroundings from the Temple, and the maintenance of its sanctity, for it had a wider and symbolical significance, and in this respect again resembled the actions of the ancient prophets. It was, in the fullest sense, an open declaration of war upon the formal worship of the times. The priests, who had a very substantial interest in the temple-market, took an actual pride in the press of business in the court; for the number of tradesmen and the amount of their wares indicated the number of purchasers, and that, in its turn, was the gauge of Jewish piety, fidelity, and zeal. This last consideration influenced the Pharisees also to the same effect. This was but natural, for such abuses were the necessary result of looking for religion in a host of ceremonies and externalities; and in later ages the

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same addiction to formalities produced analagous excesses in the Roman and Greek Churches, without shocking the faithful in the least. This cleansing of the temple involved by necessary implication the condemnation of the whole system of sacrifice, which really required a market to support it; nor was Jesus the first of the men of God to condemn the sacrificial system. It was not against Moses and the prophets that Jesus now advanced as a religious reformer, for he felt that he was vindicating their work and spirit, but it was against the conceptions of piety current in his own age and amongst his own people. By this act he defined his position as clearly and sharply as possible, and his aggressive attitude was a striking exposition of his views and intentions. His action was a visible presentation of the words which it appears from the evidence given at his trial he must have uttered in Jerusalem: "I will destroy this temple, and in three days will raise it again." By "this temple" he meant the Jewish religion, which he came to destroy in order that he might raise it again renovated and purified. In future when he spoke of the kingdom of God everyone knew what he meant. This one vigorous measure had put both the masses and their leaders in a position to choose decisively for or against him.

As for the leaders, whether priests or scribes, their choice never wavered for an instant. Jesus had summoned them to arms and made them his avowed enemies both by his entry and by his cleansing of the Temple. Mark and Luke, however, are a little premature in making the Sanhedrin immediately form the definite project of taking his life, and only delay its execution for fear of the masses. The first Gospel mentions on this occasion that Jesus healed some blind men and cripples who came to him in the Temple, which is perhaps a reminiscence of an old saying that forbade the blind and crippled to enter the sacred place;[1] and the same

[1] Compare Vol. III., p. 5, and 2 Samuel v. 8.

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Gospel says that the children in the court cried out "Hosanna to the son of David!" upon which the chief priests and scribes angrily demanded of Jesus whether he heard what they said, and found little satisfaction in his brief reply, "I hear it! But have you never read: From the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou prepared thy praise?"[1] These details do not commend themselves to our acceptance, and come in strangely after the violent scene that precedes them. Mark, in his turn, relates that Jesus would allow no one to carry household utensils or furniture, for instance, through the temple court, when that was the shortest way from one part of the city to another; and also that he called the Temple a house of prayer "for all nations," which is the expression really used in Isaiah; but Jesus was not thinking of the heathens at that moment. It is of more importance to note that the same evangelist represents the Master as simply visiting the temple and looking round on his first arrival and then retiring, since it was rather late, but only to return the next day and assert himself by the cleansing of the Temple. We see at once how improbable this is. The next morning he was without his numerous escort, and, what is more, he was in a less sensitive and excited mood. His burst of indignation at seeing once more what he had carefully inspected the evening before would be very artificial, and his whole line of conduct unnatural, not to say impossible.

Let us now look back for a moment, and sum up in a single word our conception of the precise project with which Jesus had entered Jerusalem.

Here again we are driven to conjectures, for the Gospels make it appear as if he had come with the simple object of being put to death. But even suppose he expected the issue to be fatal, he must surely have contemplated the possibility of

[1] Psalm viii. 2.

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success, and must at any rate have had some definite project—whether destined to succeed or fail. It is not until we clearly understand what this project actually was that we can see the full bearings of his entry into the city, of his assertion of his power in the temple court and, generally, of his appearance at Jerusalem.

We know that he had come to offer his people the kingdom of heaven, the perfect blessedness of close communion with the heavenly Father. If Israel accepted it, then Jesus would already have removed from the shoulders of his countrymen the yoke which Pharisaic scripturalism had laid upon them, they would have broken in principle with their national pride and hatred, their formality and self-righteousness; and God would do the rest.

In the present circumstances, therefore, there was but one thing that could make the efforts of Jesus successful, but one thing that could rescue him personally, and also do what was far more important in his eyes—preserve the kingdom of God for Israel, and Israel for the kingdom of God. That one thing was a rapid and increasing accession of disciples, a series of decisive proofs of sympathy and powerful expressions of faith on the part of the masses. This would entirely disarm the opposition of the Pharisaic and the priestly parties. The Temple and the synagogues would then, so to speak, be gradually emptied; the approaching Passover would become the feast of the great redemption; Jerusalem would thenceforth be the central point of the work of Jesus, and the thousands and ten thousands of foreign Jews the messengers of his kingdom. That would be his success!

He had, therefore, properly speaking, no choice in the matter. It was impossible for him to begin quietly and tentatively, as he had done in Galilee. He must at once and conspicuously challenge attention, and make it impos-

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sible to ignore his arrival and its significance. Averse as he was to any sensational display, he could not now desire to enter the city and the Temple in quiet simplicity; and the Messianic demonstrations which accompanied his entry, though he had by no means provoked them, were not unacceptable to him. He knew well enough that a host of shallow misconceptions lurked beneath these exuberant cries and tokens of veneration, but yet he accepted them as well intentioned and as coming from the heart. They were the first public recognition of the significance of his person and his work; and may not the hope have now revived in his heart that they might perchance be the first fruits of his harvest of souls, a prophecy that God would turn the people's hearts to him? At the very worst these loud expressions of devotion could not fail to further his purpose of announcing that he had come, and had come in the character of God's messenger, commissioned to establish the kingdom of heaven. It was but another step—and a step of which any accident might be the occasion—for him to proceed to some such striking and decisive action as that in the temple court. And this deed, occasioned by the repulsive scene that met him, and as little foreseen or premeditated on his part as the mode of his entry into the city, was an unmistakable indication to the public of the nature of the Messianic kingdom he came to found.

But it need hardly be said that in spite of all this the work he contemplated at Jerusalem was of a purely religious, and by no means of a political character, and that he had not the least intention of exciting a popular commotion. We must not dream of his departing by a hair's breadth from his principles, or becoming untrue to himself! It was, therefore, impossible for him to repeat or follow up this single deed. His only weapons were the power of the word, of the spirit, of the truth; the appeal to the heart and conscience. Nor

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could he go a single step further in the employment of material means. But, since this was so, his impressive deed had not improved his chances of success, for the masses could not fail to be disappointed when the sequel answered so ill to the introduction, when the work was so unlike the manifesto. And how could this disappointment have any but disastrous consequences?

Chapter XXX.

JESUS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

Matthew XXI. 17, 23–32, XXII. 15–40; John VII. 53–VIII. 11.[1]

THROUGHOUT his stay in Jerusalem Jesus never spent the night in the city itself. Every evening he went with the Twelve to Bethany, returning early in the morning to teach in the temple-synagogue, or one of the other halls in the colonnades of the Forecourt. We have already followed him along the road from Bethany through Bethphage. The distance was about three-quarters of a league; but a footpath, which ran across the Mount of Olives, shortened it by a few minutes' walk.

Whatever it may have been at first, it ultimately became a pressing measure of precaution to retire at night to some refuge unknown to the authorities; for, though they were afraid of a disturbance if they attempted to seize him by day, they might safely have snatched him from his bed at night; but we cannot tell whether such precautions were necessary from the first, or whether Jesus spent his nights outside Jerusalem, in order to secure the opportunity of recovering

[1] Mark xi. 19, 27–33, xii. 13–34*a*; Luke xix. 47, 48, xx. 1–8, 20–39, xxi. 37, 38.

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his own composure, and enjoying a time of quiet intercourse with his friends in the evening and morning.

The hospitable customs of the East make it probable that he remained under one roof during his whole visit, and would only have quitted it in obedience to some special necessity. Accordingly, we may think of a certain Simon, known as "the leper," as his permanent host. The third Gospel is less accurate in representing him as spending his nights on the Mount of Olives, and apparently in the open-air in the garden of Gethsemane.[1]

The very first evening Jesus went with the Twelve, after dismissing the multitude we may suppose, to enjoy the quiet of the village where the night's lodging was prepared. It is not improbable that he knew Simon already. Perhaps he had met him as he passed through Bethany at noon, perhaps later on in the day, and no long acquaintance would be needed to justify the offer of hospitality. Jesus had most likely spoken little after purifying the temple, for the day was far advanced when he entered Jerusalem, and the wearying journey followed by such a tumult of emotions must have so strained his powers as to make the opportunity of resting under a friendly roof extremely grateful.

Here, then, he might gather strength for the struggle which he saw so clearly awaiting him. The following morning found him in the temple court again, at the spot whence he had dismissed his followers the night before, addressing both them and a number of others whom interest or curiosity had led to accompany them. Doubtless he assumed the authority of a prophet; and his preaching, in accordance with the action of the previous day that introduced it, would be an emphatic exposition of the spiritual nature of the kingdom of God, and the moral demands it made upon its subjects. But see, he is interrupted! A

[1] Luke xxi. 37, xxii. 39, 40. Compare John viii. 1.

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deputation of respected citizens approaches him with solemn dignity. Everyone makes room for them, for they are members of the Sanhedrin. This Sanhedrin was composed[1] of "high priests" ("chief priests" in our Authorised Version), elders, or heads of distinguished Jewish families, and the most eminent scribes. Under the name of "high priests" were included not only the priest who held the office in question at the moment, but all who had ever filled it in their lives, and even the most influential of the remaining members of the high priestly families. The members of this little deputation, therefore, though it may not have had an official character, felt bound in their individual capacity to put some check upon the pretensions of the Galilæan reformer. Nothing could be more appropriate, therefore, than their question, "By what authority are you doing all this, and who gave it to you?"

Of course they referred especially to his vigorous proceedings when first he entered the temple court, but not to them alone. When they observed the authoritative tone and attitude which he assumed in addressing the multitudes upon the subject of their dearest interests, they felt that unless he could offer some adequate defence of his use of such language they ought to crush him with the sentence of absolute condemnation. So Jesus stood face to face with the honoured representatives of ecclesiastical and civil authority amongst his people. How much must depend upon his answer! He had doubtless considered beforehand what position to take up. He was not at a loss for a moment, and answered with quiet dignity: "Let me also ask a question; and if you answer it then I will tell you on what authority I rely. Tell me: Whence was the baptism of John, from heaven or of men?"

Now this was far from a mere evasion. On the contrary,

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 6, 7.

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it was little short of a defiance. Jesus implied that since He who had shortly before sent John to baptise the people, had now commissioned him, Jesus, to found the kingdom of God, there was an immediate connection between his own work and that of the preacher of the wilderness. Those who had recognised John as a messenger of God must and would recognise him also; whereas those who had utterly despised the Baptist had thereby given palpable proof of their total incapacity to appreciate a divine commission, and had therefore completely forfeited their right to demand his credentials from him. Did they understand his meaning? One of them, who served as the mouthpiece of the rest, answered briefly and contemptuously, "We do not know;" as much as to say "and we do not care." Our Gospels represent this answer as the result of the reflection: "If we say, 'From heaven,' he will answer, 'Then why did you not believe him?' and if we say, 'Of men,' then we shall have the people upon us, for they all hold John to have been a prophet." Luke even makes them fear that "the whole people will stone them" if they give the latter answer. But all this deliberation is out of place. The distinguished men of Jerusalem had simply paid no attention whatever to the Baptist; and Jesus therefore utterly denied their right to question him. His answer was as brief and as haughty as theirs: "Neither shall I tell you by what authority I have come forward here."

His refusal to answer was a bold stroke; but as if to show that he knew exactly what he was doing, he continued after a moment's silence: "What think you? There was a man who had two sons, and one morning he went to the elder and said: 'My son, you must go and attend to the vineyard to-day.' But he answered without even a show of respect: 'I shall not.' And yet, after a time, he was sorry, and went and set to work. Meanwhile the father had gone

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to the other and found him all obedience. 'I will go this very instant, father,' he replied—but did not. Which of these two obeyed his father?'" We need not suppose, with the Evangelist, that the members of the deputation actually said "the first," for without waiting for an answer Jesus might well go on with his indignant application of the parable. "I tell you, the publicans and harlots shall go into the kingdom of God before you! For John came to lead you to the way of life; and you did not believe in him, though the very publicans and harlots listened to his preaching; for not even such a sight as that could make you repent and believe in him."

This was an open declaration of war upon the priesthood, the nobility, and the scribes. Compare this parable with that of the prodigal son, with which it has an unmistakable affinity. How changed is the conception of the second son, who is really obedient in the one case, and is a mere hypocrite in the other![1] It is true that in this parable Jesus had not the Pharisees exclusively in view, but this merely serves to make his judgment all the more emphatic. He embraces all the leaders of the people, the whole heterogeneous class of devout and high-born citizens who had thought it beneath their dignity to be moved by the preacher of the kingdom of God—he embraces them all under that sentence which put "the first" after "the last." When Jesus had once told them they came after the very offscourings of society, it was impossible that any friendly relations should subsist between him and them, unless they were to throw themselves in humble penitence at his feet—and there was small chance of that!

And yet he had done well in taking up his true position at the very outset. He had not come to Jerusalem to win over the champions of Jewish orthodoxy or the guardians of

[1] Compare Vol. V., pp. 318, 322.

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the temple worship, but the people. He must let the nation know what it had to expect from him. This he had done, by opening the battle at once without any preliminary skirmishing.

It is deeply to be regretted that our authorities tell us little or nothing of the course of the struggle, and especially of the relations of Jesus and the people. Under the first head we only hear of a few argumentative encounters between Jesus and his opponents, preserved as specimens, and of certain violent denunciations uttered by Jesus in public. With these exceptions we have not a single address delivered by the Master in Jerusalem, or anything beyond the repeated statement that he taught the people day by day. It is possible enough that some of the specimens of his preaching we have already met with in considering his Galilæan ministry or his journey to the capital properly belong to this period,[1] but it is probable that as a rule his preaching in Jerusalem was to some extent different in tone. The Gospels, however, leave us in uncertainty as to how he instructed the multitudes in the City of the Temple, what he taught them about the kingdom of God, its approach, the blessings it would bring and the qualifications for entering it, the last judgment and repentance. But in that saying of his about breaking down and building up the temple which we have mentioned already and to which the Evangelists refer in their account of the trial of Jesus, we are justified in finding the substance of a whole discourse, or perhaps even of several discourses, delivered to the people.

Again, we have only scattered hints as to the reception Jesus found at the people's hands. The statement that they took him for a prophet[2] seems very probable intrinsically.

[1] See, for instance, Vol. V., pp. 280, 211 ff., &c.
[2] Matthew xxi. 46.

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At any rate they could not see or even suspect the Messiah in him; while the high prophetic reputation he enjoyed is evident from the fact that the Pharisees and Sadducees, who were usually very hostile to each other, combined against him. This indicates clearly enough that they were seriously alarmed by his popularity; but the strongest proof of all is the dread with which they were inspired by his followers; for at first they dared not touch him, and only ventured to seize him at last under cover of night, with the aid of treachery; and even then they were in great trepidation, as we shall presently see.

But, on the other hand, the result showed that his party was far less numerous and zealous than had been supposed; and the final issue proves that his efforts had failed. Indeed, we have already explained how the enthusiasm kindled by his first appearance must inevitably cool when he refused to follow up the stirring deed with which he had begun, and confined himself to simple preaching. Even zealous followers were bewildered when they saw that he did not take a single step towards founding or even preparing the kingdom of God, but, on the contrary, seemed to be retreating day by day further from the goal they longed so impatiently to reach. The attitude assumed by the Scribes did Jesus incalculable harm; for of course there would be vast numbers of the Jews, both of Jerusalem and elsewhere, who looked for guidance to these venerated leaders, so specially qualified by their studies, they thought, to form a judgment in such matters. Now these were the very men who opposed Jesus with all their might, and their warnings held great numbers back. Perhaps he himself alludes to this in his bitter reproach: "Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites that you are! for you shut men out of the kingdom of heaven. You will not enter yourselves, and prevent and forbid those that would!"

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Let us now consider the records we still possess of the encounters between Jesus and his various opponents!

It was towards the beginning of his stay in Jerusalem that certain men came to him and, in a tone at once confidential and respectful, asked his opinion upon a very important point. Some of them were disciples of the Pharisaic school, and therefore bitterly opposed to the Roman supremacy over Judæa, and others were Herodians, that is to say enthusiasts for the Idumæan dynasty, who longed to restore the kingdom of Herod the Great; but all alike had been deputed to catch Jesus in his words. "Rabbi," they said, "we know that you always say exactly what you think, without considering anyone; for you care not how great or powerful anyone may be, but simply preach the will of God in truth. Tell us, then, what you think. May we pay tribute to the Emperor or not?"

It was a cunning plot. The strain of flattery in which they began shows their drift. They hoped he would declare that anyone who paid the poll-tax, and so recognised the Roman emperor as his monarch, was infringing the rights of the Lord, the king of Israel; and that God was jealous of his honour, and would hold the deed apostacy. The way in which Jesus had entered the city, together with his nationality and that of his followers, gave reason to hope that he shared the opinions of Judas, the Galilæan, on the point at issue.[1] Now a popular leader who taught such seditious doctrines as this would be sure to be seized by the governor and put to death without loss of time. If, on the other hand, he declared that the tribute must be paid, that would do nearly as well, for he would at once fall in the opinion of the people.

He saw through their project. "Oh hypocrites!" he answered with undisguised aversion, "Why do you try to

[1] Compare Vol. V., pp. 113, 445.

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catch me thus? Let me see the tribute money!" Now certain coins had been struck for use in Judæa, without the Emperor's head and with a simple inscription, on purpose to meet the Jewish objection to images; but the coin his questioners now showed to Jesus was not one of these. It was a genuine Roman denarius, representing the amount of the poll-tax. This was probably no accident. Jesus, then, pointed to the head and name of Tiberius on the coin, and said, "Whose image and superscription is this?" "The Emperor's," they answered. "Then give the Emperor what is the Emperor's, and God what is God's," said Jesus, as he returned the coin. He meant to say: Since this coin shows that you are subject to the Emperor of Rome, accept the position and give him what is due; and then take care that you give to God what He has a right to expect and demand of you. It is because you have failed in your duty as God's subjects that you are now Cæsar's slaves, and, as long as you fall short of your duty to God, you must be content to bear the burdens laid on you by Cæsar. It is repentance, faithful self-consecration to God, and not disputes as to the permissibility of tribute, still less resistance to a well-merited chastisement, that must bring the great deliverance. It will not be your murmuring, but the coming of the kingdom of God that will put an end to the supremacy of the heathen.

The design was utterly wrecked, and the questioners retired in amazement at such presence of mind.

Another day Jesus came early in the morning from the Mount of Olives[1] to the Temple, where the people whom he had dismissed the evening before drew together again in great numbers, and he sat down as usual to teach them. Then there came a company of scribes and others, well known for

[1] See John viii. 1, and compare p. 19.

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the strictness of their piety and their religious zeal. It was evidently an important matter that had brought them there, and their gestures and expressions indicated no small indignation and aversion, the object of which was a certain woman whom they were dragging with them in mute despair to the temple court. The multitude made way for them respectfully. In gloomy silence they placed the unhappy woman right opposite Jesus, and formed a semicircle in front of him. Then one of them came forward and explained their object. "Rabbi, this woman is an adulteress, taken in the very act. Now, Moses commands in the Law that such must be stoned; and we wish to know from you what we ought to do."

There is a difficulty here. The Law does, indeed, attach the penalty of death to this offence, but not specifically stoning. Nor is it quite clear what these people were aiming at, though they evidently hoped to find something in the answer upon which they could base an accusation. Had they heard that Jesus was very far from orthodox on the subject of the marriage laws? At any rate they knew that he had shown an offensive leniency towards people of bad character; so perhaps they hoped that by condoning so shameful an offence he would lower himself in the eyes of the people, and appear to sanction the grossest immorality, while at the same time giving them grounds for a legal accusation. However this may be, Jesus made no reply, did not even rebuke their malice; but bending down and making lines on the ground with his finger, as though he were thinking of something else, left them to their own consciences. But they did not feel this tacit rebuke, and impatiently repeated their question. Then he looked up with a piercing glance and said: "If any one of you is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her!" Then he bent down again and made lines on the ground as before. It was as much as to say: Go on, and let the law take its course—if you can justify yourselves

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in doing so. If any of you can declare himself free from all impurity of thought, word, or deed, let him come forward as a witness at the trial and the execution.[1]

This shaft had struck. The pious accusers looked down. Their consciences were roused, and one by one they slunk away, the most distinguished first, troubling themselves no further about the wretched woman who still stood riveted to the spot, half stupefied with remorse and shame. In a few moments Jesus raised his head again, and seeing no one there but his own hearers and the woman, he said to the latter, "Where are your accusers? Has not one of them condemned you?" "No, Lord!" she murmured. "Neither do I condemn you. Go and sin no more!" said Jesus.

Then would he have left every crime unpunished? That was not the question. In referring the matter to Jesus these men had removed it from the court of civil law into the very different court of the private conscience. Jesus therefore simply declared that God was better served by forbearing pity for the sinful woman than by the strict enforcing of the law. Judged in the court of conscience he denied that his contemporaries, who so shamelessly contracted and dissolved the marriage tie, without infringing the Law, had any right to utter sentence on the adulteress.—It seems rather improbable, however, that Jesus should have found it so easy to arouse the conscience of these self-righteous devotees; and the story, though very beautiful, is open to suspicion both on this ground and on those already hinted at. We may also add that its origin is a matter of doubt. It stands at present in the eighth chapter of John, but is certainly out of place there. It evidently belongs to the same circle of stories as those in the Synoptics, and should be placed in the account of the last conflict of Jesus. It is no longer possible for us to tell why it is not there. For the various

[1] Compare Deuteronomy xvii. 7.

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reasons indicated it deserves less confidence than the other records of the encounters of Jesus with the different parties amongst his people during the closing weeks of his life.

In the cases hitherto examined the opponents of Jesus were intent upon drawing him into utterances in conflict with the Law, or dangerous to the public tranquility, and so involving him with the ecclesiastical or civil authorities. But this was not always their object. Sometimes they simply tried to drive him into a corner and expose him before all the people by means of some insoluble question. A few examples of these questions also have been preserved.

One day, for instance, certain Sadducees began to argue with him about the resurrection. They probably took occasion to do so from an address to the people in which he had spoken of the coming of the kingdom of God, when the pious dead should return from the under-world and live again.[1] Now the worldly-minded and conservative Sadducees contemptuously rejected the doctrines which had risen since the formation of their own party, such as the belief in a resurrection and the elaborate doctrine of the angels;[2] especially if they had sprung from the bosom of the national party, and were fostered by the enthusiasm of the zealots, which was pre-eminently the case with the doctrine of the resurrection. Indeed they looked with suspicion and dislike upon the preaching of the kingdom of God in general. It was but seldom that the Sadducees were amongst the hearers of Jesus, and this is perhaps[3] the first time that we find him in contact with them except on the single occasion of their demanding his authority for what he did. It seems, however, that some of them happened to be present when he was

[1] Compare Vol. V., pp. 425, 426.
[2] Acts xxiii. 8; compare Vol. V., pp. 57, 58.
[3] See Vol. V., p. 310.

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speaking on this very question of the resurrection; so they urged a difficulty which had doubtless more than once done good service against the Pharisees! "Rabbi!" they said, "you were speaking just now of the resurrection; but how will it be? Take an instance. You know the law of Moses says that when a man dies childless, his brother must marry his widow, and the eldest son must bear the dead man's name.[1] Now there was once a family of seven brothers; and the eldest of them married, but died childless. So the next took his widow; but he died without children too, and the widow was taken by the third. And so it went on till all the seven brothers had married her, and all had died childless. Finally the woman died herself. Now when they all rise again, whose wife will she be? For all the seven were married to her."

Whether this had really occurred or not was a matter of no consequence. It was possible, and that was enough to give the Sadducees a right to treat it as actual. We must also concede that it raised an unanswerable objection to the doctrine of the resurrection as conceived by the Jews, that is to say, as a renewal under more favourable circumstances of the former life. But for Jesus the difficulty did not exist, for he had formed a far more spiritual conception of the new life in the kingdom of God. So he struck the broad principle at once and went to the very root of the matter in his answer, which may be paraphrased thus: "The denial of the resurrection rests upon a two-fold misconception; upon want of insight into the Holy Scriptures, and misapprehension of the power of God revealed in the saints; for they neither marry nor are given in marriage when they have risen again, but live here on earth as the angels live in heaven. Such is the power of God revealed in his children. And, as for the doctrine of the Scriptures about a new life following after

[1] See Vol. II., pp. 240–242.

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death, have you never read the chapter of the 'Thornbush,' in the books of Moses,[1] where God says: 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob?' Now, surely, He is the God of the living and not of the dead!"

It must be admitted that Jesus put a far deeper and richer meaning into the text he quoted than it originally had, but this does not at all surprise us;[2] and, judged by the rules of interpretation, and style of argument current at the time, his proof of immortality was so complete that his questioners were absolutely silenced and his hearers were filled with amazement. He meant: If God called himself the God of the patriarchs centuries after they were dead, we are forced to the conclusion that they are not dead for ever, but will rise again. He is too great to be a God of lifeless shades; and man, whose God he deigns to call himself, is too great to remain a shadow for eternity. And, when the power of God reveals itself in all its glory at the resurrection, relations will spring up between man and man upon the renovated earth, so completely unlike those known at present that they can only fitly be compared with the intercourse of angels. Luke, the latest of our three Evangelists, elaborates the words of Jesus thus:[3] "Those who dwell in the world as it now is marry and are given in marriage; but those who are accounted worthy to rise from the dead and share the perfect life that shall be, will no longer marry or be given in marriage. Neither will they any longer be subject to death, for they will be like the angels; and, inasmuch as they share the resurrection, they will have a portion in the life and glory of God himself. And as for the shades, read the chapter of the 'Thornbush,' where God says: 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob!' Now, surely,

[1] See Vol. II., p. 18. [2] Compare Vol. V., pp. 287 ff.
[3] Luke xx. 34–38.

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He is the God of the living and not of the dead; for in His eye the shades have already risen." Such additions to the words of Jesus may well be justified on the principle that the exalted conceptions seized and uttered by him necessarily imply still more than he himself could see, through the trammels laid upon him by the current notions of his age. If he expected the power of God to wake a new and glorious form of life in the faithful at the hour of the resurrection, after a more or less protracted sleep in death, we are justified in going a step further and rising to the hope that the spirit of man, educated and hallowed by God in this life, will rise at once to the higher life at the very moment of death. If he thought the bond between God and his dutiful children too close to be finally loosed by death, we accept the thought in all its fulness, and declare: Not only is it impossible for this tie to be broken eternally, but it cannot be broken for a moment! God's children cannot be lifeless shadows even for a time. In a word, Jesus was defending the belief that we shall *return to life*, but in doing so he laid the firm foundations for the hope that we *shall never die*.

There were probably certain Pharisees present at this encounter; and in any case it soon came to their ears that Jesus had silenced their opponents on the very point upon which they had so often disputed with them. Under other circumstances this would have given them great delight, but since they were just now combining with their natural enemies against this formidable rival, they found small satisfaction in their discomfiture. They laid their heads together, and one of them who was deeply read in the Law took occasion, probably by the master's teaching on some other day, to ask him a test question often discussed in the Rabbinical schools. "Rabbi, which is the first commandment in the Law?" Without reserve or ambiguity, Jesus answered: "Thou shalt

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love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul and sense.[1] This is the great first commandment. And the second is like it, and is this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.[2] On these two commandments all the Law and the Prophets are built."

Luke does not mention this conversation here,[3] but makes the scribes applaud Jesus for having refuted the Sadducees. In this he follows Mark, who represents the questioner as coming to Jesus without any sinister design whatever, and testifying to his complete agreement with him by enthusiastically repeating his answer. "Yes, Rabbi! It is true. The Lord our God is the one lord,[4] and there is no God but He, and to love Him with all the heart and mind and strength, and to love one's neighbour as one's self is more than any sacrifice or burnt offering!" Then Jesus on his side testifies to the scribe's true insight in the words: "You are not far from the kingdom of God."

Whatever we may think of these divergencies they do not touch the essence of the matter, which is the conjunction by Jesus of these two verses from the fifth and the third books of Moses. This is far more than a lucky hit. Jesus uttered his whole soul in it. With good cause has Christendom devoted its especial attention to these words and attached the utmost value to them. They tell us what Jesus held to be the essence of religion, for we must not suppose that he was summing up the Israelitish religion in distinction from his own. In the first place he never recognised any such distinction, for we know that in his attack upon the conception of piety current in his own generation he regarded himself as at one with Moses and the prophets. And besides this, God, whom he would have man love with all his being, is no longer really Israel's Yahweh, nor is a man's neighbour

[1] Deuteronomy vi. 5. [2] Leviticus xix. 18.
[3] See Vol. V., pp. 381, 382, 384, 385. [4] Deuteronomy vi. 4.

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any longer his fellow countryman and fellow believer only; so that Jesus, in point of fact, is not summing up the old Israelite religion, but the new religion that had grown out of it under his own vivifying touch.[1] Finally, remember that "these two commandments" do not stand over against each other as essentially distinct. Jesus would have us love our neighbours and ourselves for God's sake and as children of God, or, in other words, he would have us love God *in* our neighbour and ourself. Without intending it, Jesus sketches in these two strokes his own individuality and his own life.

We have now seen Jesus attacked and put to the test again and again, and have had ample occasion to admire the clearness of insight and presence of mind which invariably gave him a ready answer and enabled him triumphantly to maintain the position he had taken. Nay! the attempts to injure him have but served to throw an ever stronger light upon his religious and moral greatness, and have therefore taught us to understand him better and to reverence him more.

Chapter XXXI.

JESUS TAKES THE AGGRESSIVE.

Matthew XXII. 41—46, XXIII. 1—7, 16—28; Luke XI. 52, 47, 48, XX. 47, XVI. 19—31; Mark XII. 1—12, XIV. 1, 2.[2]

HITHERTO we have only seen Jesus defending himself against the plots of his enemies. But gradually a change took place; and those who had at first thrown themselves in his way with overweening confidence now drew back. They were no match for him. His contro-

[1] Compare Vol. V., pp. 292 ff., 282 ff.

[2] Matthew xxiii. 13, 29—32, xxi. 33—46, xxvi. 3—5; Mark xii. 34*b*—40; Luke xx. 40–46, xi. 39—46, xx. 9–19, xxii. 1, 2.

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versial triumph was complete. No one, we are told, dared question him further; and we have no more records of his opponents intentionally drawing him into disputes. Upon this Jesus changed his own attitude and took the offensive. A few specimens of his attacks are preserved.

"How can the scribes say that the Messiah is David's son?" he once exclaimed in the Temple, before a crowd of hearers. "For David himself, speaking by the Holy Spirit, declares: The Lord said to my lord, 'Sit thou at my right hand till I have cast thine enemies beneath thy feet!' Now, if David himself calls him 'lord,' how can he be his own son?"

It is true that Psalm cx., the opening lines of which are quoted by Jesus as sacred or inspired scripture, was not composed by David and does not contain any words addressed to the Messiah; but this raises no real difficulty, for both Jesus and his contemporaries accepted the Davidic authorship and Messianic significance of the psalm, upon which the argument is built, without the least reserve. The bearing of the argument itself, however, is far from clear. Is it possible that the foes of Jesus had heard of his pretensions to being the Messiah, that they had attempted to disarm them by reminding the people that he was not a descendant of David, and that Jesus therefore wished to show that the Messiah was not a son of David at all? Or did he simply intend to point out that the scriptures themselves represented the assumed Davidic origin of the Messiah as a matter of no moment, since the founder of the kingdom of God had a higher title than that of Son of David? This is the sense in which the first Evangelist appears to have understood him. He makes Jesus say to the assembled Pharisees: "What do you think about the Messiah? Whose son is he?" They answer unhesitatingly, "David's;" and Jesus then refers them to the verses of the psalm already quoted, and con-

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cludes: "If David calls him 'lord,' how can he be his son?" In any case these words distinctly implied that Jesus did not conceive of the Messiah as a king after the model of David.

Hostility ran ever higher. Jesus did not shrink from openly attacking his opponents and exposing them before the people. The scribes, who gave the whole Pharisaic school its tone, incurred his special indignation. What must the people have thought of the sentence they heard him utter upon their pious leaders, at the very focus of Jewish orthodoxy, and head-quarters of formalism! We have already had special occasion[1] to give a few specimens of his preaching against the Pharisees, but we will now repeat them in the characteristic, though less original, form in which they appear in Luke:—

"Woe to you, learned ones in the Law! for you have taken away the key of knowledge; you stay outside yourselves and keep out those that try to enter. Woe to you! for you build the tombs of the prophets, and your fathers murdered them. Thus do you testify your approval of your fathers' deeds, for they committed the murder and you perpetuate its memory."

Jesus also made a fierce onslaught upon the scholastic hair-splitting that trod true holiness in the dust and unmanned the conscience. A melancholy instance was furnished by the opinions of the scribes on the subject of oaths. We know what Jesus himself thought about them,[2] and can therefore understand his indignation against all the subterfuges and qualifications of the schools. "Woe to you, blind guides! for you say: If a man swears by the Temple it is nothing; but if he swears by the gold of the Temple it is

[1] See pp. 25 ff., and Vol. V., p. 374.
[2] Vol. V., pp. 290, 291.

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binding. Fools and blind! Is the gold more than the Temple which makes it sacred? Or again: If a man swears by the altar it is nothing; but if he swears by the sacrifice upon the altar he must keep his oath. Blind that you are! Is the sacrifice more than the altar that makes it sacred? I tell you whoever swears by the altar, swears by all that is on it too; and whoever swears by the Temple, swears by Him who dwells in it; and whoever swears by heaven, swears by the throne of God and by Him who sits upon it."

In the same way he mercilessly scourges the pitiful formalism so scrupulously anxious about trifles, and yet so wide of swallow with regard to veritable sins. "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites that you are! for you take care that the tithes of mint and anice and cummin are duly paid, but neglect the weightier matters of the Law—justice, mercy, and integrity. In observing the one how dare you to neglect the other? Blind guides that you are! straining out gnats and swallowing camels! Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for you cleanse the outside of cup and platter, but the inside is full of plunder and licence. Blind Pharisee! first clean the inside of the cup, and then the outside will be clean also. Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites that you are! you are like so many whitewashed graves that seem all pure outside, but are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness within. So do you seem righteous externally, but within are full of hypocrisy and evasion of the Law."

We may note that this denunciation deals throughout with the question of cleanness.[1] It begins by referring to the scrupulous piety that would not for the world make use of the smallest garden herbs without first making sure that the tithes, though of hardly any value, had been duly paid; for otherwise they would be unclean and would pollute all those

[1] Compare Vol. V., pp. 354, 355.

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that used them. The conclusion alludes to the custom of the people of Jerusalem of whitewashing the tombs every year, a month before Passover. The object was to warn the travellers not to come too near these unclean places; and just so the ostentatious display of cleanness on the part of the Pharisees seemed to Jesus like a warning that all manner of wickedness lay concealed behind it. Luke did not understand the reference, and lost the point by turning the saying thus: "Woe to you! for you are like hidden graves that men may walk upon unwittingly."

But this does not affect the essential point. "What a sweeping condemnation!" we are tempted to exclaim. But remember that these words were uttered at Jerusalem; and to understand the change that had come over the Master's feelings with regard to Pharisaism, we must bear in mind not only the growing hostility on either side, but the fact that here in the City of the Temple orthodoxy was driven to its extremest consequences and appeared in all its accursed moral sterility. Indeed there was a Jewish proverb to the effect that nine out of every ten hypocrites in the world might be found at Jerusalem. Even in Galilee Jesus might have said, as he did now before all the people in Jerusalem: "Beware of the scribes, who take such delight in pacing along the streets in their long gowns, and receiving the respectful salutation of 'Rabbi' in the market place, in taking the front seats in the synagogues, and reclining in the best places at suppers! They do all their pious deeds in the hope of being seen. Look how broad they make the ribbons written over with texts that they bind round their brows and their left arms when they pray, and how deep the fringes of their mantles are!"[1] But it was only here in Jerusalem, at the very centre of Judaism, where the fatal principles of formalism had so long spread unchecked in rank luxuriance, it was only here that he could

[1] See Vol. V., p. 320.

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fairly reproach the Pharisees in such words as these: "They bind heavy burdens that none can bear, and lay them upon men's shoulders; but they themselves will not touch them with their little fingers! They devour widows' houses, and make long prayers to save appearances. All the heavier is the judgment they are bringing down upon their heads!" It need not surprise us to hear all this. Outward piety too often leads to formalism, and formalism to hypocrisy.

We must here observe that the several denunciations of the Pharisees, and more especially the scribes and lawyers, have not come down to us in their original form and connection. Luke, for instance, represents the greater part of them as uttered on the journey, and moreover in the house of a Pharisee who was entertaining Jesus.[1] Nothing could be more inappropriate than this. Luke's Ebionite authority makes Jesus, after declaring that the contents of the cup and platter were acquired by injustice and avarice, add the words: "Ah, fools! Did not He who made the outside make the inside too? Then give away that which is inside in alms, and behold it will all be clean for you."

The first Gospel, though it only gives a few specimens of the preaching of Jesus at Jerusalem against the popular leaders, is fuller than either of the others; but to say nothing of its stringing together sayings which were uttered upon different days and upon different occasions, and taking up fragments that are quite out of place, it introduces the whole with the following words, which certainly rose in Jewish-Christian circles, and are absolutely opposed to what Jesus meant: "The scribes and Pharisees have sat down upon the seat of Moses; therefore, whatever they tell you, observe and do it; but do not imitate their deeds, for their precepts are fair but their lives are foul." Observe and do what they

[1] See Vol. V., p. 313.

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command! As if this were not in absolute contradiction with what follows! As if Jesus had not come to Jerusalem for the very purpose of breaking their yoke!

And here we may naturally ask whether there are no threats or denunciations launched by Jesus against the party of the Sadducees. The third Gospel does indeed contain a picture which strongly reminds us of the haughty and ostentatious priestly nobility, with its selfish neglect and contempt of the lower classes. We will reproduce it here, for if any of its lines were drawn by the hand of Jesus, it can only have been at this period. We must premise, however, that the story in which it is embodied cannot possibly be genuine as a whole. It is known as "the rich man and Lazarus."

Once there was a rich man who was clothed in the costliest robes, a cloak of purple wool and an under garment of fine Egyptian linen, and who fared sumptuously every day. At the portico of his noble mansion there lay a wretched beggar, of the name of Lazarus, all covered with sores, glad if he might satisfy his hunger with the fragments that fell from the rich man's table; and even these he must share with the dogs of the street that came running up when the broken meats were thrown out. Nay—lowest depth of humiliation!—these dogs would come and lick his wounds, so familiar had they grown with him. Thus, for a while, he lived the life of a dog, and then he died; but, as he breathed his last, the angels came and bore him to the paradise in the underworld, to lay him in the bosom of Abraham, in a place of honour at the feast of the provisionally blessed. And into the sumptuous hall death likewise came and snatched the owner of the palace from the midst of his abundance and enjoyment; but he, while the last honours were being paid him upon earth with lavish care, while his corpse was being richly embalmed and laid in earth as be-

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fitted his high rank, went down into the regions of death, to the fire of gehenna. Here as he lay, tortured with unutterable pain, he raised his eyes and saw far off the feast of the Father of the Faithful, reclining on whose couch he discerned the man who had once been a beggar at his gate. Then he could not restrain the prayer for a moment's respite. "Father Abraham!" he cried, "have pity on me, and let Lazarus come here to dip the tip of his finger in the water and cool my tongue, for I am tortured in these flames." But not even this could be granted him. "Child!" answered Abraham, "remember that you received your full share of blessings in your life, and Lazarus nothing but misery; and, therefore, he is now received here with a loving welcome, while you are in torture. And, besides all this, there is a deep chasm gaping wide between us, which none could pass, how great soever his desire, either from us to you, or from you to us." The wretched man now saw that there was no more hope for him; but he had still a petition left: "Then, father! send him to my kindred, for I have still five brothers; and let him urge them to beware lest they, too, come into this place of torment." But even this request was refused, not as impossible, but as useless. "They have Moses and the Prophets. Let them listen to them," said Abraham. But the other, remembering only too well how he had known the Scriptures himself, but had scattered their warnings to the winds, made one last appeal: "Nay, but father Abraham, if a man were to rise from the realms of the dead, then they would repent." The hope was vain, and the appeal was therefore bootless. "If they will not listen to Moses and the Prophets," said the patriarch in conclusion, "they would not be convinced, though one should rise from the dead."

This is unquestionably a composite story. Luke appears to have had in view the heathen world shut out from every

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hope and blessing in contrast to the privileged but pitiless Jews; but this cannot have been the original significance of Lazarus and the rich man. And even apart from the modifications introduced by the Evangelist in accordance with his own conception, the story is evidently not a single whole. The latter part, perhaps from "and besides all this," is an addition; and in any case the request that Lazarus may be sent to earth and all that follows it has no connection with what goes before. If we go on to ask the meaning of the whole and of the separate details, we have no difficulty, to begin with, in recognising a very marked Ebionite spirit. The rich man is accused of nothing but spending his treasures for his own enjoyment. There is not so much as a hint that he was irreligious or unfeeling. And Lazarus tastes the joys of paradise not for his piety but simply as a compensation for his misery upon earth. Nor does the repentance which the Law and Prophets should produce mean anything else than the distribution of all one's wealth in alms.[1] Equally obvious is the concluding blow at the unbelief of the Jewish aristocracy which would not even yield to the preaching of the the resurrection of Jesus from the dead.[2] Yet another proof of the late origin of the parable is the representation of a state of provisional compensation in the shadow-land before the resurrection. Such a conception was certainly foreign to Jesus himself.

This is the only parable in which a proper name occurs; and this point has naturally given rise to no little speculation. Perhaps the name Lazarus, which is the same as Eleazar, is merely symbolical, and should be taken in its original signification as "God-help." Perhaps, too, the beggar is called after Abraham's servant,[3] who had become the type of the faithful slave, the virtuous member of the lower classes.

[1] Luke vi. 24, xvi. 9, 11, xi. 41. [2] Acts iv. 1 ff., 23, v. 17.
[3] See Vol. I., pp. 200–208.

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If so, Lazarus perhaps represents the humbler classes in general, regarded of course in the most favourable possible light. In that case it is exceedingly possible that the rich man represents the distinguished and luxurious priestly order. The Jewish tradition tells of the gold and silver dinner services of the Sadducees; and it is well known that they troubled themselves very little about the common people and placed them almost on a level with the heathen. The dogs, which were not domestic animals but were loathed as unclean beasts, certainly represent the heathens. Finally, one might be tempted to find in the five brothers of the rich man a reference to the most distinguished of the high-priestly families, namely that of Annas; for Josephus tells us that this man was pronounced the most enviable of mortals because after filling the office of high priest for many years himself, he subsequently saw it held by each of his five sons. Meanwhile we must leave it uncertain how far this parable may be founded upon some saying or description of Jesus, some reproach he hurled at the Sadducees or some threat that the position of things should one day be reversed.

The tension had gradually reached its height. We possess a clear indication of this in a parable, most likely due to Jesus himself, placed by all three Evangelists in this period and characterising the last hours of the conflict with the overpowering foe. We must picture Jesus in the Temple, shortly before he left it for the last time, speaking in the hearing not only of the multitudes but of several of the high priests and scribes who had lately given up all attempts to conceal their anger and aversion. It was an imitation of a denunciation by the prophet Isaiah,[1] which he began in sombre tones as follows:—

[1] See Vol III., pp. 330, 331.

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A certain man planted a vineyard, set a hedge round it, sunk a wine-press, and built a watch-tower, and when everything was complete let out the vineyard to a company of husbandmen for a stated portion of the produce, and went himself into a foreign land. So when the grape harvest had come, he sent one of his servants to his tenants to receive his share of the fruits. But the husbandmen seized him and beat him and sent him back empty handed. Then the owner sent another servant, but they wounded him in the head and maltreated him shamefully. Still he sent another, but they killed him. Then he sent many more, but they maltreated some and killed others. His forbearance was not yet exhausted, and at last he sent his son, for he thought "at least they will respect my son." But when the husbandmen saw him, they said to each other: There is the heir! Let us kill him and keep his heritage ourselves. So they seized him, and dragged him outside the vineyard, and slew him.

After a moment's pause Jesus went on with an emphasis that could not be mistaken: "Now, when the master of the vineyard returns, what will he do to the husbandmen? He will put those wretches to the death that they deserve, and give the vineyard to others who will bring him the fruits in due season." After another moment's pause he concluded: "Have you never read that passage of the scripture:[1] The stone which the builders rejected is made the chief corner stone; it was the Lord that made it so, and it is wonderful in our eyes?"

So we read in all three Gospels, with only unimportant variations. But Matthew and Luke have each of them a few words more; the latter,[2] following up the metaphor of the stone, says: "Whoever falls upon this stone shall be broken, but upon whomsoever it falls it shall dash him to pieces;" the former, interpreting the story itself, adds: "Therefore I

[1] Psalm cxviii. 22, 23. [2] Matthew xxi. 44 is not genuine.

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tell you that the kingdom of God shall be taken away from you and given to a people that brings forth its fruits." Both of these sayings may very well be genuine, though the last of them is out of place. They both of them illustrate the thought of the discourse if it needs any further illustration.[1] Jesus sketches with moving and startling distinctness God's rule over Israel, who has cast His warnings to the wind, who has maltreated and slain the prophets in times past, and is on the point of laying murderous hands upon the Messiah now, together with the certainty of the approaching judgment now that the last effort has failed. In conclusion, he foreshadows in a single breath his own rejection and exaltation, with the assurance that the guilt of men cannot really thwart the purpose of God to raise the new Temple of which he, the Messiah, will be as it were the foundation. Meanwhile we have never heard such gloomy words from him before; and this is not surprising, for now that the contest is as good as over, the tone of deliberate announcement naturally takes the place of menacing appeal.

There still remain two points for our consideration. The Evangelists place this parable immediately after the conversation about the authority of Jesus and the baptism of John.[2] Now, the connection of thought, "You who have rejected John, the last of the prophets, will lay hands upon me also," is very marked, and in so far the arrangement is a good one. But, for all that, the parable is certainly out of place at the commencement of the work of Jesus in Jerusalem. How could the courteous forms of address and controversy we have witnessed be possible after the utterance at such a sentence? And at that early period it would have been a needlessly exasperating defiance, and would not even have been true, for no definite determination had as yet been reached to make away with Jesus. And since this parable

[1] Compare Vol. V., pp. 380, 381. [2] See pp. 20, 21.

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is clearly the last public utterance of the Master in the hearing of his enemies, it is exceedingly noteworthy that it contains the first distinct assertion he ever made before them of the significance of his person and his office. Here he ranks himself above the prophets, and speaks of himself as the corner-stone of the edifice of God. He exclaims to them as it were: However obstinately you refuse to recognise me, I am the man—I declare it plainly—who is to found the kingdom of God.

And this brings us to our second observation. The Gospels are more or less uncertain as to whether the parable refers to the people of Israel, or to their leaders, the scribes and high priests. The fact is that, though there were many of the common people who took the side of Jesus, with or without hesitation, yet, on the whole, the leaders had Israel, as a people, with them. But for that very reason, although the historical interpretation and the comparison of other passages in which the metaphor of the vineyard appears compel us to think of Israel as a whole, yet the parable is aimed, in the first instance and almost exclusively, against the leaders. They are the builders who reject the stone; it is they who are determined to keep the inheritance, that is to say, to maintain their influence and supremacy, cost what it may. When the kingdom of God is given to a new people of the Lord, recruited from the common herd of Israel from sinners and from heathens, then the leaders who have dashed themselves against this stone will pay a fearful penalty!

We may therefore well believe that after this parable had been uttered the authorities endeavoured to lay hold of Jesus and were only restrained from instantly taking active measures because they feared a rising of the people, who held Jesus for a prophet, or at least apprehended a violent resistance on the part of his followers. They were only restrained for the

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moment! Jesus had not spoken of the murderous thoughts of the husbandmen without good cause. His sentence was already as good as passed.

According to the first two Gospels it was on Thursday evening, the twelfth of Nisan, two nights and days before the Passover began, that a meeting of members of the Sanhedrin was held at the house of the high priest Caiaphas, to consider how best to get hold of the Nazarene and make away with him. It was determined, in the first place, not to seize him publicly, but to snatch him away in secret; and in the second place to wait till the festival was over, for if anything were attempted during the excitement of the feast, it might give rise to disturbances of which it was impossible to foresee the issue. This would defer all active measures for a full week; but Jesus would probably remain in Jerusalem as long as that, and if he did not he could be pursued. By that time the strangers, including the Galilæans, would be gone, and most of the followers of Jesus with them. Any who might still remain would be too few in number to be formidable, especially when once the feast was well over; and as to the people of Jerusalem, they had remained throughout either hostile or indifferent to the Galilæan leader and caused his enemies no uneasiness whatever.

To this it must inevitably come. The parable of the husbandmen was hard upon its fulfilment. The conflict was at an end;—and the end was what Jesus had expected.

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Chapter XXXII.

JESUS AMONGST FRIENDS.

Luke XXI. 1–4, XVI. 1–9, 11, 12, 14; Matthew X. 41, 42, 16–23, XXIII. 8–12, 34–39, XXI. 18–20, XXIV. 1–3 ff., 42–51, XXV. 1–13, XXVI. 1, 2, 6–13.[1]

HITHERTO we have seen Jesus at Jerusalem almost exclusively confronted with his enemies. But now that we have traced the progress and the close of the decisive conflict which he had to wage, we must return upon our steps a little to prevent or rectify what would be the great mistake of supposing that during the closing weeks of his life he had had nothing but intensely painful encounters, had been exclusively busied with controversies and denunciations. We must think of him really as spending a great portion of his time amidst more congenial surroundings and in happier labours, under the hospitable roof at Bethany, with new-made friends in Jerusalem itself,[2] walking at morn or even with the Twelve (sometimes accompanied by other faithful followers) or moving in the larger circle of his adherents. We know, on the best authority,[3] that very soon after the death of Jesus, a band of no less than five hundred persons faithfully attached to him were found together, probably in Galilee; and very nearly all of these would certainly be at Jerusalem just now.

We may take for granted not only that Jesus was frequently alone with his friends, but that from time to time he addressed himself exclusively to them, even when strangers were present in greater or smaller numbers. An instance of

[1] Mark xii. 41–44, ix. 41, xiii. 9–13, xi. 12–14, 20, 21, xiii. 1–4 ff., 33–37, xiv. 3–9; Luke x. 3, xxi. 12–19, xi. 49–51, xiii. 34, 35, xxi. 5–7 ff., xvii. 22 ff., xii. 35–48.

[2] See Vol. V., p. 236. [3] 1 Corinthians xv. 6.

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what I mean is furnished by the following touching scene, which also serves to show how carefully Jesus continued the moral education of his disciples to the very last.

Once he had gone with his friends through the outer court, up the fourteen steps of the higher terrace, and through the magnificent gate of Nicanor, to seat himself beneath the colonnade. The Jewish women were not allowed to penetrate further than this into the sacred enclosure, and this part of the Court of the People was therefore usually known as the Court of the Women, although it was frequented by Israelites of both sexes, and was sometimes even used for popular assemblies. Here, too, was the treasure-house, with its thirteen brazen funnels shaped like trumpets ready to receive the freewill or the stated offerings to God, that is to say, the contributions in support of the various branches of the temple service. In this last century the temple treasure often rose to an enormous sum. Here Jesus, always the same keen observer, sat and watched the people dropping their contributions into the money boxes. Most of the coins were copper; but now and then a richer worshipper would throw in gold or silver, not without an air of pompous satisfaction with himself. Then came a woman, thinly clad in widow's weeds, and timidly stretched out her hand to drop two little coins into the box, that together made one farthing! Was she pushed aside to make room for others with richer offerings? Did Jesus trace a smile upon some face that seemed to say: She need hardly have troubled herself to come here with a farthing? At any rate, the disciples had observed her, and understood their master when he cried in deep emotion: "I tell you, that poor widow has given more than all of them; for they have given from their abundance, but she in her penury has thrown in, it may be, all that she had."

Jesus did not simply mean that real goodness only exists

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where some self-sacrifice is involved, but above all he intended to enforce the pervading principle of his life and thought, namely the value of small things and of "the little ones." His disciples, like all of us, were led away by outward appearances and needed this lesson constantly, and now perhaps more than ever.[1] On another occasion he reminded them in the same spirit that every service done for God, though so small that no one notices it, is yet observed by Him, and will not want its recompense. "Whoever receives a prophet into his home because he is a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward when the kingdom comes; and whoever receives a virtuous man because he is a virtuous man shall receive a virtuous man's reward. And if anyone gives so much as a cup of cold water to one of my humblest disciples because he is a disciple, not even he shall lose his reward."[2]

Nor did he forget to repeat his exhortations to humility and simplicity,[3] if we may judge by the following words addressed to his disciples. They appear in connection with his exposure of the vanity and love of honour displayed by the Pharisaic scribes.[4] "Never allow people to call you Rabbi, for you have one teacher and you are all brothers. And call no one on earth your father,[5] for you have one father [who is in heaven]. And let no one call you leaders, for you have one leader [the Christ]. But the greatest amongst you shall be your servant. Whoever exalts himself shall be humbled, and whoever humbles himself shall be exalted."

And moreover, in contemplation of the probable issue of the struggle, Jesus availed himself of the interval that still remained to prepare his followers in general, but especially the Twelve, for the task that awaited them when he was gone. With this view he diligently instructed them, and exhorted

[1] See Vol. V., p. 438. [2] See Vol. V., pp. 213, 214.
[3] Vol. V., p. 450. [4] See p. 38. [5] Compare Vol. II., p. 280.

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them to labour zealously and faithfully for the kingdom of God. Here we should be inclined to place many a charge to spread the gospel of the kingdom without fear of men; many an exhortation cheerfully to endure the fiercest violence of opposition, which we have already given.[1] Some of his sayings unmistakably proclaim themselves as having been uttered at Jerusalem. Amongst these is one of undoubted authenticity, preserved in an early Christian work and by the Ecclesiastical Fathers, though not to be found in the New Testament. "Make yourselves tried money-changers!" In Jerusalem Jesus had watched the money-changers at their tables, and had observed their knowledge of different coinages, their quickness, their assiduity, and their great profits. In Galilee he had borrowed images from the work of fishermen and peasants, and now he made the trade of money-changing illustrate the work of the kingdom of God. Make your eyes as quick as theirs, he would say, to distinguish instantly between the false and true; be as rapid and unwearied in adapting yourselves to each one's requirements, and make your profits as large—but more honourable. It was a similar thought that he worked out in the parable of the talents which we have already examined,[2] though it properly belongs to the period we are now considering.

The third Gospel further puts into the mouth of Jesus several sayings and one elaborate story borrowed from money transactions, but very different in scope and purpose from the others, as we shall see at once. The story runs as follows:—

Once there was a rich man who had an agent or steward. In those days such a post was one of greatest trust, and conferred the widest discretionary powers upon him who held it, for, indeed, he was almost irresponsible in the exercise of his office. Now this steward was accused to his patron of

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 243, 217 ff. [2] See Vol. V., pp. 211, 212.

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running through the estate by his extravagance, upon which the latter summoned him and said: "What is this that I hear of you? Make up your books, for you must quit my service." The man was at his wit's end. In a few days he would have given up his books, and would be turned penniless into the world. "What must I do," he thought to himself, "when dismissed from my master's service? I cannot work in the fields, and shame forbids me to beg by the road side." A sudden thought occurred to him: "I know what to do! When I am dismissed there will be houses enough open to me!" He summoned his master's debtors, one by one, without loss of time. The first who came rented an olive yard for which he was in arrears. "How much do you owe us?" asked the agent. "A hundred casks of oil," he answered timidly. "Fifty will do," replied the agent; "here is your acknowledgment of the debt. Sit down and change the figure to fifty; but make haste!" Then came the second, a tenant farmer, who had not paid his rent for the current year. "Well, and what do you owe us?" he said, as he searched amongst his papers for the memorandum of the debt. "A hundred sacks of wheat," he answered gloomily. "I will let you off twenty. There, take the memorandum back and fill it in for eighty." And so he went on. The debtors who had come with such heavy hearts had nearly equal sums remitted to them in every case; and the agent, without exceeding the limits of the powers he still possessed, and without rendering himself liable to any legal proceedings, had earned the hearty gratitude of all the tenants. Even his patron, though his own interests had been sacrificed, could not help admiring the shrewdness with which his steward, at the last moment, had secured support and protection at the hands of those whom he had laid under such great obligations.

"For the children of this world," continues the narrator,

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as he goes on to the application of the story, "are wiser and more sensible in their dealings with each other than the children of light, and might well serve as models of foresight and prudence to them. You, too, should make friends by means of that evil mammon, that lucre to which so much unrighteousness adheres, that when you have lost it the friends it has made you may take you into the dwellings of the kingdom of God. If you have not dealt faithfully with such pitiful wealth as that, who would ever entrust you with the true wealth, the highest blessing? And if you have not dealt faithfully with that which can never really be yours, who would entrust you with your own true inheritance?"

We see at once that it is not Jesus who speaks, but the man whose hand we have so often recognised before in the third Gospel—the man who considers poverty a glory and a merit, and declares that earthly wealth, which is not ours, but belongs to mammon, the god of wealth or the god of the present age, is good for nothing whatever but to be given away in alms. If so used it brings its owner, or rather its administrator, to the kingdom of heaven; otherwise to gehenna. We may further note that the writer, who puts this doctrine into the mouth of Jesus, takes the opportunity of saying that the Pharisees were covetous, though this was far from being their specially besetting sin. We shall presently meet with a very different picture of a steward in the gospels,—in this case, perhaps, authentic.

"Be faithful in your calling!" Such was the exhortation which constantly recurred in the master's conversations with his friends; but he did not conceal the difficulties that awaited them; and, when speaking of the work henceforth committed to them, he represented the future as anything but bright with promise. "I am sending you out like sheep in the midst of wolves. Be as cautious as serpents and as harmless as doves! Beware of men, for they will drag you

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before the judgment seats, and beat you with rods in their synagogues.[1] But when they give you up to justice, take no thought before hand as to how or what to speak in your defence; for what you are to say will be given you at the time, for it is not you that speak but the spirit of your Father that speaks in you. Brother shall give up brother to death, and father child; and children shall rise up against their parents to compass their death. And you shall be hated by everyone, because you are my disciples; but those who endure to the end shall attain to the kingdom of God. So, when you are driven out of one city, take refuge in another, for verily you will not have gone through the cities of Israel before the Son of man shall come."

This final word of encouragement is open to the gravest suspicion, at any rate in its present form; nor can Jesus have used the language attributed to him by Luke, "I myself will give you such courage and wisdom that none of your adversaries will have power to resist or contradict you." And, finally, the addition made by all the Evangelists, "and you shall also be brought before governors and kings for my sake, as a witness to them and to the heathen," is obviously borrowed from the actual event.[2]

But enough! After deducting all the later additions, we have still the means of forming some idea of the line adopted by Jesus during the closing weeks of his life in preparing his faithful disciples for their glorious but arduous task.

It seems that Jesus gradually drew back more and more into the circle of his friends. At any rate it is open to doubt whether he continued his public teaching in Jerusalem to the very last. Perhaps the authorities of the Temple had taken steps to exclude him from the sacred precincts, and

[1] See Vol V., p. 253; and compare Matthew xxiv. 9, 13.
[2] Compare Acts xxiii. 33, xxv. 6, 23.

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he kept out of their way to avoid tumultuous and violent collisions. But all this is simply a conjecture, and only rests upon the fact that we find him, one or two days before the Passover apparently, at a meal in Bethany, and on the Thursday morning, when the festival was to begin at even, he sent two of his disciples to the city in advance, and himself, perhaps, remained with his host till the afternoon.

It has indeed been imagined that Jesus expressly bade farewell to Jerusalem in a saying still preserved. For at the close of the attack upon the scribes and Pharisees occurs a passage which we shall presently give in full, concluding with the words addressed to the citizens of Jerusalem: "I tell you, you shall see me no more till the time when you shall say: 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!'" From this enigmatical saying it has even been inferred that Jesus thought of returning to Galilee. But the fact is that the whole passage which these words conclude seems to be a citation from some lost work of the Jewish-Christian school. There are other sayings attributed to Jesus in the Gospels which likewise point to the existence of such a work, composed a little before the fall of the Jewish state. Perhaps it resembled the contemporary book of Revelation, and at any rate took the form of an oracle containing a description of the approaching end of the world and establishment of the kingdom of God.[1] We shall presently return[2] to the evidence that such a book existed and was used by the Evangelists, but meanwhile we will give the whole passage of which we are now speaking. Though the words are put into the mouth of Jesus in the Gospels, yet in the original work they must have been uttered by "the Wisdom of God,"[3] which is equivalent to his Spirit or Revelation.

"Behold! I send prophets and sages and scribes to you;

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 28, 30. [2] See p. 59.
[3] Vol. V., p. 323, and compare Luke xi. 49.

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and some of them you will slay and crucify, and others you will scourge in your synagogues and pursue from city to city; that upon you may come (that is, that you may be held responsible for) all the righteous blood that has been shed upon the earth from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zechariah the son of Berechiah whom you slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you it shall all come upon this generation!

"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou who slayest the prophets and stonest those that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! But now I withdraw my protecting hand from your house, and you shall no more see me till the time when you shall say: Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!"

Here Wisdom, or more plainly God himself, complains of the chosen people. For a short time He will surrender Israel to punishment, till the kingdom of God shall come in its glory. Now the date of these verses may be gathered with great precision from the mention of Zechariah's murder as the latest deed of its kind. Of course this man is not the son of Jehoiada who was stoned more than eight and a half centuries before,[1] but a certain man whom Josephus speaks of as a rich and noble citizen, whose hatred of all evil and love of freedom exposed him to the enmity of the zealots. They endeavoured to compass his death, and when, in spite of their threats, the court which they had instituted to condemn him pronounced him innocent, they slew him in the Temple and then hurled him down the precipice. It is a strange anachronism to make Jesus mention this murder, but in other respects it was a fine conception to lay upon his lips this profoundly touching expression of disappointment at Israel's impenitence.

[1] See Vol. III., p. 229.

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The following picture was drawn with a similar intention:—

Early in the morning, as Jesus was going to the city from Bethany with his friends, he felt hungry; and seeing a fig tree at some little distance, in full leaf, he went up to it to pluck some fruit, but found that there were only leaves upon it. "May never man eat fruit of you again!" he cried, and the tree immediately withered, upon which the disciples cried in amazement: "See how the fig tree has shrivelled up in an instant!"

We can hardly read this little story as it stands without a shock; not so much because of its gross impossibility as because this curse is so utterly unworthy of Jesus. The two first Gospels, taking the story literally, have doubtless failed to reproduce it faithfully. Mark, who spreads it over two days and makes the unfortunate remark that it was not time for figs yet, is especially far out. But it is easy to rediscover the true meaning. For in the third Gospel, which does not give this story, we have already heard Jesus speaking of Israel as the unfruitful fig tree.[1] And here again the fig tree is Israel, and the emphasis falls upon the disappointment of Jesus. It was not without reason that he had formed such lofty expectations, for the tree was covered with luxuriant foliage. Israel seemed so zealous for the service and the honour of its god, so fervid in its longing for the Messianic blessedness. Alas! it was but an empty show. The substance, the fruit which it promised and which it ought to bear, was nowhere to be found. The consequences could not be averted. Israel had smitten itself for ever with absolute spiritual barrenness.

This image, then, as a description of the final issue, is quite in its place at this period of the ministry of Jesus, and accurately represents the fact. The sublime attempt of Jesus

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 446, 447.

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had failed. The masses of the people lent him a ready ear,[1] but their shallow attachment was worth nothing, for it did not win them to the kingdom. Meanwhile his position grew more critical from day to day, and the storm was rapidly approaching. Must not a deep melancholy have settled on him, even when amongst his friends, as he thought of the judgment his people was bringing down upon itself? Doubtless the sigh which Luke[2] would have us think escaped him at the very moment of his triumphal entry did indeed rise more than once a week or two later as he crossed the western slope of the Mount of Olives with the Twelve and saw the city stretched before him. Well might he weep for her and cry "Oh if thou didst but know, now that the rescuing hand is extended to thee, if thou didst but know what truly makes for thy salvation! But alas! thine eyes are blind!" Well might he breathe his dark forebodings to his friends, though not precisely in the form which Luke has borrowed from the history of the fall of Jerusalem in the year 70 A.D. "The days shall surely come when thine enemies shall cast up a mound against thee and surround thee and hem thee in upon every side and destroy both thee and thy children within thee and leave no stone standing upon another, because thou hast brought to nought God's last attempt to save thee!"

We also find in all three Gospels an elaborate prediction which Jesus is represented as making to the Twelve or to four of them, and in which the heaviest sufferings are foretold to Israel. Luke, who gives two of these discourses, goes so far in the second of them as expressly to describe the siege and capture of the City of the Temple, which is another instance of history in the form of prophecy. But even in its earlier shape the discourse can hardly be from

[1] Mark xii. 37. [2] Luke xix. 41—44; see also p. 2.

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Jesus. It describes the end of the present world with all the fearful events which will precede it, the return of Jesus from heaven with terrific signs in the sky, and the great Messianic judgment. Its different parts are not only disconnected, but contradictory. For instance, we are told on the one hand that the return of the Son of man, and the establishment of the kingdom of God, will most assuredly take place before the generation of the contemporaries of Jesus has passed away; and, on the other hand, that these events must not be looked for too soon, that the gospel must first be preached to every nation throughout the world, and that no one, not even the Son of man, has any knowledge when they will come to pass. Moreover, the discourse displays an unmistakable resemblance to the various productions of that peculiar branch of Jewish literature represented in the Bible by Daniel and Revelation, and outside the canon by various other writings;[1] and, finally, it appears, on careful inspection, that the original author, while acquainted with the events that immediately preceded the fall of the Jewish people, had no knowledge of the fall itself. Much the same may be said of the book of Revelation. All this makes it tolerably certain that the discourse we are dealing with consists of loose fragments of a more extensive work written a year or two before the destruction of Jerusalem, in view of the circumstances of the time, to encourage the Christians with the assurance that the end of the world and the return of Jesus were close at hand. This is the work to which we have already referred, as the probable source from which the lamentation over Jerusalem's impenitence was drawn.[2]

If we take the discourse as it stands, we cannot admit that any part of it was really uttered by Jesus, except certain opening words that form a kind of exordium, and, perhaps,

[1] Compare Vol. IV., pp. 296 ff.; and Vol. V., pp. 370, 424 ff.

[2] See p. 55.

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a single metaphor at the close. These presumably genuine sayings we will therefore give. One day, immediately before the Passover, we are told, Jesus left the Temple and the city, followed the winding path this side the Kidron, and ascended the Mount of Olives on the other. Here one of the Twelve came up to him, and spoke in a strain of enthusiastic admiration of the dazzling splendour, the colossal proportions, and the immovable foundations of the Temple. "Are you lost in admiration of it all?" he answered. "I tell you truly there shall not be one stone left upon another; but all shall be overthrown!" He meant that, however warmly the heart of every true Israelite might beat for the sanctuary of his people, yet there would be no place for it in the kingdom of God. It would vanish without a trace when all things were made new in the immediate future. Jesus pursued his way, and a few minutes brought him to the summit of the Mount of Olives, where he sat down. There lay the city at his feet, bathed in the gold and purple of the setting sun. Again his friends drew near. According to Mark the two pairs of brothers only, Simon and Andrew, James and John. "Tell us when this shall come to pass," they said, "and what will be the signs of the approaching end of this world." Jesus may have answered by a stirring exhortation to unwearied toil, since neither they nor any man could know when the last day would break. "Who is the faithful and discreet steward," he continued, "whom his master has set over all his fellow servants to give each his food at the proper season? Happy the servant whom his master, when he comes, shall find performing this task that he has set him. I tell you, truly, that he will give him charge of all his possessions. But if the wicked servant says to himself: 'My master is long absent,' and begins to beat his fellow-slaves, while he himself feasts and carouses with the drunkards, his master shall return on a day when he looks

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not for him and at an hour that he does not know, and shall cut him to pieces and rank him amongst the faithless."

In connection with this warning, Luke makes Jesus say:[1] "The slave that knew his master's will and yet got nothing ready, and did not do his will, shall be beaten with many stripes; but the slave that transgressed his will without knowing it shall be beaten with but few stripes. From him to whom much has been given much will be required, and from him to whom much was entrusted more will be demanded." Or again, with an analagous metaphor:[2] "Let your loins be ever girt and your lamps burning! And hold yourselves like men that wait for their master to return from the wedding, ready to open the door to him whenever he comes and knocks. Happy are the servants whom their master comes and still finds watching! I tell you truly, he will gird up his own loins, and make them lie down and will wait upon them; and if it is the second or the third watch of the night when he comes, and if he finds them still at their post, blessed are they! For, if the householder had known at what hour the thief would come, he would have watched and would not have suffered him to break into his house. Be you ready likewise! For the Son of man will come at an hour when least you look for him."

How much or how little of all this should be ascribed to Jesus himself it is impossible to determine. The saying: "Let your loins be ever girt and your lamps burning," that is to say, "Be ever watchful and alert," bears every mark of authenticity. In the first Gospel it is elaborated into the following parable:—

Once there was a wedding, and in the evening ten of the bride's companions went out from their houses in festive attire and with brightly-burning lamps in their hands to meet the bridegroom. He would come with his companions by torch-

[1] Luke xii. 47, 48. [2] Luke xii. 35—40.

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light and with music, and the girls went out some way to meet him and to escort him with due ceremony to the house of the bride, where all would join in the brilliant festival. Now five of the girls remembered that there might be a long time to wait, so they filled their flasks with oil and took them with them; but the other five were so foolish as never to think about it. Now it so happened that the bridegroom and his train were long in coming; and as they waited hour after hour all the ten bridesmaids grew drowsy and dropped asleep. It was not till midnight that they were roused. In the distance they heard a choral song sung in alternate verses, "The bridegroom comes! The bridegroom comes! Arise and go to meet him!" As the sound came nearer and nearer the girls sprang up and began to trim their lamps, which were still just smoking and flickering. The five prudent ones soon trimmed their lamps and saw them burning with a clear bright flame once more; but their companions were half distracted, for they could not for shame join the bridal procession without their lights. "Give us some of your oil," they cried in despair to the others, "for our lamps are going out!" But this was impossible, for none of them had brought any more than they required for themselves; so the others answered, "There would not be enough for all of us. Run back to the first shop that you can find and buy some for yourselves." The foolish girls now saw that there was not a moment to be lost, and hurried off as their friends had advised them; but meanwhile the bridegroom and his escort came, and the five prudent maidens who were ready joined him and were soon at the bridal house. They entered, and the door was shut. It was not long before the others came—too late. Their lamps burned clear and they knocked at the door and cried, "Lord, lord, open to us;" but he answered, "I know not who you are."—"Watch, therefore, for you know neither the day nor the hour."

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This story teaches the beautiful and universal lesson that fitful energy in a good cause and the best of momentary intentions do not suffice to bring us to our goal, and that if we are to hold our own in the press of life around us we must gather up a treasure of faith and knowledge and possess a fund of moral and religious life within ourselves from which, as it were, we can refresh at any moment our flagging earnestness and love, and renew our self-consecration to the ideal life. But, as we have it, the parable points with unmistakable distinctness to the circumstances of the apostolical community, when the return of Jesus was delayed beyond all expectation, so that the dangers of worldliness became more and more threatening, and the most earnest warnings were needed against them.[1] The parable accordingly cannot be from Jesus. The bridegroom is no other than the Christ who will come, after long delay, to his bride, the community on the earth. So, too, in the conception of the Evangelist,[2] but not, of course, in the mouth of Jesus himself,[3] the master who goes abroad in the parable of the Talents, which follows directly after that of the Ten Virgins, is the Christ who has left the earth for heaven, to return after a while. Finally, Matthew, who gives these pictures of the future in far greater fulness than the other Evangelists, concludes them with a description of the last judgment, which we have taken an earlier opportunity of giving.[4]

It was but natural that during the gloom of these last remaining days the thoughts of Jesus, when amongst his friends, should have constantly wandered into the future and dwelt upon the judgment hanging over his nation and the establishment of the kingdom of God after the short delay caused by Israel's hardness of heart. And it is equally

[1] See, for instance, Romans xiii. 11 ff.
[2] Compare p. 3. [3] See pp. 43, 44. [4] Vol. V., pp. 213, 214.

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natural that his warnings and his glances into the future should have been gradually transformed and elaborated as they passed from mouth to mouth. But however much uncertainty this latter consideration may cause, one thing at least appears to rise above all reasonable doubt, namely—that in spite of the gloomiest forebodings as to the fate of the great majority of his people, Jesus never for a moment lost faith in his own mission or the speedy triumph of his cause, never ceased to expect the speedy coming of the kingdom of heaven, in which all mere external worship would be done away and the crushing yoke of the letter would be broken.[1]

Meanwhile he saw the crisis of his own fate drawing near with rapid strides. The first Gospel represents him, after giving expression to his expectations and uttering his threats in the series of discourses and parables just considered, as saying to his friends: "You know that in two days the Passover begins, and the Son of man is given up to death," or rather, as the words now stand, "to be crucified." If Jesus really said this he did not mean to predict the exact moment of his death, but to emphasise the mournful contrast between the joyous festival to which all Israel looked forward and the bitter death that awaited him.

The evening of that same day, or the one that followed, showed how completely he was filled with thoughts of death. His host, Simon, had arranged a social meal in his honour; and before it was over a woman entered with an alabaster flask full of the costliest ointment in her hand. She stood behind Jesus, snapped the long, thin neck of the vase, and poured the contents over his head, filling the chamber with the glorious perfume. Her meaning was not doubtful. In the presence of the Twelve and all the other guests she anointed Jesus king of Israel! It was an act of homage, rendered in the

[1] Compare Acts vi. 14.

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enthusiasm of her faith, to the future Messiah, as if to compensate for the delay in his recognition by the people; but at the same time it was an appeal to him no longer to defer the public assumption of his office. Little did the impatient disciple perceive how matters really stood! We may well believe that however acceptable to Jesus such a tribute of honour at such a moment must have been, yet a shadow crossed his face as he thought how widely different his fate would really be!

Meanwhile the woman's deed was far from meeting with the approval of the disciples. Were they angry with her for seeking thus to anticipate them and all the others? Or did they think she ought to have rendered this solemn homage publicly in Jerusalem, in the presence of all the people instead of at this quiet, friendly meeting? At any rate, they were decidedly put out, and some one muttered half aloud, "What waste! The ointment might have been sold for as much as three hundred denarii, and the money given to the poor;" and, instead of the instantaneous and passionate assent she had expected her action to awake, the woman only met with sullen or resentful glances. As soon as Jesus noticed this he began to defend her. "Why do you treat the woman thus? She has done a good deed to me. For you always have the poor with you, and can do good to them whenever you will; but you will not always have me with you. She has done what she could. In pouring this ointment on my body she has anointed me already for my burial." . . . . .

The importance which the early Christians attached to this scene at the close of the Master's life appears from the words that are put into his mouth, "I tell you truly that wherever this Gospel (that is to say, the history of his life, or the writing itself that embodied it) wherever this Gospel shall be preached in all the world, this woman's noble deed

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shall be recorded in her praise." She deserves no less, for her deed brought comfort to Jesus in an hour of deepest suffering, and we may well be surprised that her name has perished.

As for us, we rejoice to find in the Master's condemnation of the judgment and behaviour of the disciples a vigorous protest against that narrow, matter-of-fact conception of life, too common still, which always looks to the immediate utility of everything as the first or only test of its value, and condemns as sinful and wretched all those sweet superfluities and adornments of which, thank God! our earth and our life upon it are so full. Not only the useful, but the beautiful as well, and all the utterances of a beautiful soul have a right of existence on their own account.

From a historical point of view the story is valuable as illustrating the tone of feeling amongst the disciples; while some of them longed impatiently for their master to proceed to action, they were all of them more or less completely blind to what was immediately before them. But we are most impressed by the deep feeling of the words of Jesus: "She has embalmed my body for the grave." The perfume of the ointment called up the reflection, "Corpses are anointed so!" and the next moment Jesus thought with a shudder, "Soon I shall be a corpse myself." Under the influence of this idea he gave the gloomy interpretation we have seen to the woman's act. Of course he perfectly understood what she meant by it, but he could only accept it as a tribute to the dead, as the last honour shown to a venerated master by the lavish hand of fervent love. Before long there would be nothing they could do for him. "You will not always have me with you."

His forebodings were not false.

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Chapter XXXIII.

THE LAST EVENING.

Mark XIV. 10—25.[1]

IT was Thursday, the fourteenth of Nisan. At six o'clock in the evening the celebration of the Passover would begin. Jesus had looked forward in eager suspense to this day and this hour. Would he live to see it? While every other family or band of friends was celebrating the joyful festival of Israel's great deliverance, would he, too, with the Twelve, join in the commemorative meal in the city of the Lord? He longed for it with all his heart, but did not conceal from himself that it was far from certain. Meanwhile he had made the necessary arrangements, that all might at least be in readiness. On such an evening Jerusalem was so crowded that every available place was pressed into service, and it was absolutely necessary to bespeak a room at any rate some days beforehand. To do this safely Jesus must select a friend upon whose fidelity and secrecy he could absolutely rely; and to prevent any chance of his arrangements becoming known he did not even tell the Twelve what he had done.

In the morning, therefore, they came to him at Bethany, and asked him where he wished them to prepare the Passover, in order that they might make the necessary purchases and get everything ready. They must buy a lamb and slaughter and cook it; and must provide the wine and unleavened bread, with a dish of bitter herbs (lettuce, endive, parsley, cress, and radishes), and a mess of dried dates, almonds, grapes, nuts and figs prepared with vinegar and cinnamon. Some of these viands were intended to remind

[1] Matthew xxvi. 14—29; Luke xxii. 3—30.

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the consumers of the slavery in Egypt, while others had some long-forgotten symbolical meaning in connection with the primitive significance of the feast.[1] Of course, the disciples would get everything ready; but the great question was where they were to meet.

In answer to their enquiries on this point Jesus commissioned two of the disciples—perhaps Peter and John—to go to the city to a certain man and say, "The Master says: The hour of my death draws near. I will keep the Passover with my disciples in your house." Such is the account in Matthew, but the message is rather strange and incoherent; and Mark and Luke give it thus:—"The Master says: Where is the room in which I am to eat the Passover with my disciples? Then," continues Jesus, "he will show you a large room upstairs, with a table and couches and all that is needful. Make ready for us there." The same Evangelists, however, introduce the message in the following legendary form:—"Go to the city, and at the gate a man will meet you with a jug of water on his shoulder; follow him, and whatever house he enters say to the householder: The Master," and so on. This cannot refer to a preconcerted token, which would be unnecessary since Peter and John must surely have been definitely told to whom they were to go; and if a token had been needed at all this would have been a very bad one, for on the morning of such a busy day water carriers would be passing to and fro in every direction. Obviously the Evangelists mean that Jesus had supernatural knowledge who would meet the disciples at the precise moment of their entry. We need therefore pay no further attention to this portion of the story; for the fact appears to be simply that tradition had not preserved the name of the householder. And this is also indicated from the impersonal form of expression used by the first Evangelist in speaking of him.

[1] See Vol. II., pp. 47 ff.

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We suspect that Jesus had special reasons for even greater caution than usual. There was a member of the inner circle of his friends in whose bearing there had been a change during the last few days. His fellow disciples had not noticed it, and perhaps were incapable of doing so; but the quick eye of the Master had detected it, and it had been a painful surprise and a source of growing uneasiness to him. The disciple in question was Judas of Karioth. For some time past his zeal had been cooling, and a certain reserved and uneasy air of hesitation had deepened during the last few hours into a restless and perturbed deportment which he sought in vain to hide by a show of greater love and intimacy, and which gave the Master only too good cause for anxiety. Perhaps he had warned him indirectly before, or had taken him aside to speak with him, but now he watched him with a mournful narrowness of observation that nothing could escape, and before evening he felt almost sure that his enemies had a tool in the inner circle of his friends!

And in truth, the evening or day before Judas had withdrawn in secret from Bethany and gone to Jerusalem to secure an audience from the ecclesiastical authorities, by the instrumentality of the officers of the temple-guard or by any other means that he could find. When a private interview was granted him he told the high priests that he was one of the twelve chosen disciples of the Nazarene, and was ready to help them in getting this dangerous leader into their power. It need hardly be said that they greedily caught at his invaluable offer of help, that they showered praises on the new ally who had come of his own accord from so unexpected a quarter, and confirmed him in the intention, which they represented as so highly meritorious and acceptable to God. It was only the day before that they had determined to wait a week before doing anything, but now they might hasten the

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execution of their schemes without prejudice to the cautious policy they had then adopted; for if they could seize him and carry out their further plans at once without any danger of tumult, it would be much better than leaving him at liberty all through the feast, for it was impossible to tell whether he might not cause disturbances in the very week of Passover itself.

So the plan was soon concerted. Judas was to watch for the very earliest opportunity of putting Jesus into the power of the magistrates, and they on their side were to reward his faithful zeal for the honour and service of the Lord by giving him a sum of money.

A traitor amongst the friends of Jesus! How can we help pausing for a moment and exclaiming: Is it possible!

Our authorities leave us without guidance. The account, which we have ventured to expand a little, is characterised in the original by pathetic brevity: "And Judas Iskariot, one of the Twelve, went to the high priests to betray him to them. And when they heard it they were glad, and promised to give him money; and he sought how best he might put him into their hands." Not an attempt at explanation. And yet what a terrible enigma!

Luke adds that Satan entered the heart of Judas; but no one can call that an explanation. Matthew makes him go to the authorities and say, "What will you give me to put him into your hands?" upon which they weigh out, or pay him, thirty shekels of silver (something under £4). But it is extremely improbable that Judas was moved by simple love of gain, and opened the conference by attempting to strike his bargain at once; and the paltry sum of thirty shekels, the traditional average price of a slave,[1] is borrowed from the prophet Zechariah, when speaking of the miserable wages

[1] Exodus xxi. 32.

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offered by the people to their shepherd.[1] We are, therefore, left entirely to our own conjectures.

Every attempt to solve the mystery must start from these two facts. Firstly, that Judas, like the Eleven, had joined the Master because he was genuinely moved by him, and had been selected by him, as one of the best and most promising of his disciples, to be admitted and trained in the inner circle of daily intercourse with him. He, too, had left all things for the Master's sake, had been true to him through all vicissitudes, had probably been sent out by him to preach,[2] had reverenced him as the Messiah that was to be, and had seen a glorious future opened through him to himself and his fellow disciples. And secondly, he was thoroughly imbued, in common again with his fellow disciples, with the worldly expectations of his people; and therefore the Master's constant predictions of suffering so far as he took them in, and the failure of his decisive efforts at Jerusalem, which became clearer and clearer each day, were a bitter disappointment, nay a grievance, an enigma, an offence to him.

It seems highly probable, therefore, that he took his fatal step because he considered that he had been grossly deceived in Jesus. The event, he thought, had shown that Jesus was not the Messiah he had given himself out to be. And with his Master's promises all his own prospects had vanished in smoke. And what was he to think of Jesus himself after all these futile pretensions? Perhaps the distinctness with which the Master had announced his death as close at hand, at that supper at Gethsemane,[3] gave Judas the last impulse. But why *he* especially deserted his Master and even went over to his enemies, while all the rest were faithful, it is impossible to say. One might perhaps suppose that, as a Judæan, he was more susceptible of the influence and

[1] Zechariah xi. 12, 13; see Vol. III., pp. 313, 314; and Matthew xxvii. 7—10. [2] See Vol. V., pp. 233–236. [3] See pp. 65, 66.

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amenable to the authority of the priests than his Galilæan fellow disciples were; and that when once he was thrown out of harmony with Jesus his reverence for the high priests reasserted itself, and induced him to look upon his Master as a false prophet whom it was his duty to hand over to the authorities. As regards the factor contributed by his own individual character, we may perhaps assume that he was of a phlegmatic and eminently practical disposition, and that his "plain common sense" made him feel less enthusiasm for the Master than the others did; made him realise more fully the unfavourable turn that things had taken, and determine—after long hesitation and long deliberation perhaps—to change sides before the worst should come! Finally, despair of finding a better solution has sometimes suggested the groundless supposition, intended to lighten the guilt and explain the conduct of the traitor, that a main or subsidiary motive, or at any rate a palliative to his own conscience, was the idea that by putting an end to the Master's indecision and procrastination, and by forcing on the crisis, he would really lay him under an obligation should he turn out in truth to be the Messiah or monarch; for by precipitating the collision with the authorities he would compel him to declare himself openly, to set a great popular movement on foot at the Passover, to ascend the throne, and establish the kingdom of God.

That anyone can seriously put forward such a conjecture as this is the best proof of our helpless ignorance.

The two disciples had fulfilled their task. They had found everything ready in the house of the unnamed friend, and had made the necessary provisions, including the preparation of the lamb which was to be the principal dish.[1] About two o'clock in the afternoon the trumpets of the Levites

[1] See Vol. II., pp. 46, 47.

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gave the signal, and the Jews bearing the lambs on their shoulders approached the court of the Temple, which was adorned with varied tapestries for the occasion. Then, between the hours of three and five, the people themselves slaughtered the lambs, which had previously been examined by the priests, while the trumpets sounded and the choirs sang, and the priests, in two long rows, received the blood in gold and silver vessels, passed it on from one to the other, and poured it out at the foot of the altar. Then the animals were skinned—still in the Temple—their kidneys, fat, and liver left before the altar, and the rest wrapped up in the fleece and carried home to be roasted ready for the feast to begin after sunset. We can fancy what a bustling scene the mount of the Temple would present! Josephus tells us that in the year 66 A.D. no less than 256,500 lambs were slaughtered; and even if we allow for great exaggeration, and assume, say, a fifth of that number as the average, still the slaughter and preparation of the animals would cause an indescribable commotion.

In the evening Jesus came with his disciples and approached the house where the cheerfully-lighted hall awaited him. There they took off their sandals, washed their hands and feet, and lay down on the couches. The course of the festivities prescribed by tradition was something as follows: First of all a goblet was filled, generally with three parts of wine to one of water, and was passed round after the head of the family had uttered a short thanksgiving both for the wine (Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, thou king of the earth, who hast made the fruit of the vine) and for the feast day. After this the partakers divided the bitter herbs and ate some of them. Then they served the biscuits of unleavened bread, baked in flat, round cakes about half-an-inch thick, together with the mess of fruit and the roasted flesh of the Paschal lamb. The head

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of the family took one of the biscuits, broke it up with the blessing, "Praised be He who makes the bread come forth out of the earth," and handed the pieces to those present, who ate them together with some of the herbs dipped in the fruit. While the second cup of wine was being prepared, the significance of the feast was expounded, and Psalms cxiii. and cxiv. (the beginning of the Hallel) were sung,[1] after which the cup went round. Then the head of the family washed his hands again and ate the first piece of the lamb, as he would presently eat the last, upon which the regular meal began and was passed in cheerful conversation, all eating to satiety. The meal was closed with a third cup of wine, called the cup "of the blessing;" and, as a fourth cup went round, the remainder of the song of praise (Psalms cxv.—cxviii.) was sung, and the feast concluded. A fifth cup, however, was not prohibited. We may suppose that these regulations were in the main observed in that upper chamber to which we have transported ourselves in imagination, and where Jesus took the place of the head of the family.

But in one respect this circle of friends formed a sad exception to the general rule. The Paschal supper was pre-eminently a time of rejoicing. But here there was a cloud upon the feast. The first words that Jesus uttered as he reclined upon the couch, though they testified to a certain sense of joy, had yet a mournful ring: "How have I longed to eat this Passover with you [before I suffer], for I shall not eat it again till it be the true feast of redemption in the kingdom of God." But it was not only the thought of the approaching severance that weighed upon his heart, it was far more the sense of distrust which he had never felt before when in the midst of his friends.

And when all the symbolical ceremonies that introduced the feast were over it must have become more obvious than

[1] See Vol. II., p. 50.

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ever that Jesus was under some painful restraint. He could not go on with the meal; and the dark suspicion that he cherished forced him at last to give it utterance. A deep sigh broke the strained and painful silence, and he cried: "I tell you, one of you here at table with me is about to give me up into the hands of my enemies!" Is it possible that he hoped to arrive at greater certainty, to hold back the disciple who was in such fearful peril, and to draw a frank and penitent confession from him? If so, he was disappointed. The friends were bewildered. They could not understand it—save one! They knew that such a deed would be utterly impossible to them; and not in the least for their own satisfaction, but simply to clear themselves from each other's suspicions, they began, first one and then another, to ask: "It is not I?" "Master! it is not I?" But Jesus had no intention of saying more. The warning would be understood by him whom it concerned. So he only emphasised the blackness of the deed. "It is one of you twelve, who are here dipping your bread in one dish with me! The Son of man must indeed go, as it is written of him; but woe to him by whom the Son of man is betrayed. It were well for that man had he never been born!"

Here the first Gospel adds that Judas asked again, "Rabbi, is it I?" and that Jesus answered that it was. But this is incredible. If the Eleven had known that Judas was the traitor, they would not have quietly allowed him to go his way. It is far more probable that even the account we have already taken from the Gospels represents Jesus as having spoken more definitely than he really did. If he did not announce a fact, but spoke of an urgent danger, as a solemn warning against desertion, the disciples may well have regarded it at the time as another instance of his gloomy forebodings, while they afterwards involuntarily threw it into a more definite form.

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Be this as it may, it was some relief to Jesus to have given utterance to what oppressed him. The meal went on, though with little sign of festive joy. After a time they spoke of other things of which, however, we have lost all record. Luke, indeed, indicates several subjects as spoken of at this last meeting, but much of what he gives us on this occasion finds its true place elsewhere; such, for instance, is an exhortation to ministering love, rising from a dispute about precedence,[1] and concluded with a reference to the example of Jesus himself, "Who is greater, the guest or the servant? Surely the guest. And yet I am amongst you as a servant!" We can more readily believe that Jesus cast a retrospective glance upon all that they had gone through together, commended their unshaken fidelity, and expressly named them his successors, now that he was on the point of leaving them: "You are the men who have clung to me in all my trials, and to you do I commit the kingdom, as my Father has committed it to me." But some suspicion is thrown even upon this saying by the words that follow it.[2] Luke also represents certain words as uttered at table which we shall follow Matthew and Mark in placing later, after Jesus and his disciples had left the hall.

So the meal was ended. Jesus himself was completely dominated by the thought that a fatal termination of the struggle was close at hand, but he had again perceived how far he was from having really imparted his conception of the future to his friends. Their preconceived ideas so blinded them to the true state of things that in spite of his repeated warnings they were still unprepared for the catastrophe. It was therefore for their sakes as well as because he felt impelled himself to give words, and, if possible, some yet more emphatic

[1] Luke xxii. 24—27. See Vol. V., p. 451.
[2] Luke xxii. 28—30. See Vol. V., p. 443.

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utterance to the dark forebodings as well as the unshaken hopes which filled him, that he obeyed the inspiration of a sudden thought and performed a simple action which produced so deep an impression on his friends as led to most remarkable results. He raised his head, and there was something in his face which riveted the attention of his disciples. They followed him with their eyes as he took two cakes of bread, laid them before him, uttered the customary blessing, and broke one of them into thirteen pieces, one of which he ate and placed the rest upon the other cake, which served as a plate, and passed it to his friends with the words, "Eat it. It is my body." Then he filled the cup to the brim, set it on the table, and after the usual thanksgiving raised it to his lips and then passed it round, saying, as they all drank from it, "This is my blood of the covenant, that shall flow for the salvation of many. Of a truth I tell you that I shall never again drink of the fruit of the vine till the great day when I shall drink it new in the perfected Kingdom of God!"

No one present could fail for a moment to comprehend his meaning. It was a symbolical action, after the manner of the prophets. We have more than once seen Jeremiah, for example, adopt a like method of enforcing his words by accompanying them with some visible illustration.[1] Even as I break this bread, Jesus meant to say, so shall my body be broken and slain; even as this wine flows out so shall my blood flow. Nay! my death is so near at hand that I shall never drink wine again, shall never more lie down to meat, in this world. It is possible, however, that he spoke, as Matthew says, of *this* wine, that is to say, the wine of the Passover, and only meant that as this was the first, so it was also the last Passover which he would live to celebrate with his friends. In any case he uttered his firm conviction that

[1] See Vol. IV., pp. 49, 38, 39, &c.

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he would rise again, that he would be reunited to his disciples, and in the immediate future, when heaven and earth were made new, would taste the joy of the kingdom of God here upon this earth.

Yet more. It was not enough for his friends to believe that salvation would come in spite of his fall; they must know that his death was the very means by which it would be secured; his blood that would so soon be shed was the "blood of the covenant." We must remember in this connection that in ancient times a sacrifice was always made at the conclusion of a treaty. In the blood that was shed lay the real significance of the ceremony. The Israelites regarded blood as pre-eminently sacred, for they believed it to be the seat and principle of life, or the very life itself; so that when the blood of the victim was sprinkled upon the two parties to a treaty they were brought into the very closest connection with each other as sharers in one life, pledged to inviolable fidelity.[1] Now, tradition declared that when Moses sealed the covenant between Yahweh and Israel upon Mount Sinai, he had said as he sprinkled the blood, "this is the blood of the covenant;" that is to say, the blood by which the covenant is established.[2] It was to this that Jesus now referred as he adopted the expression. That covenant had never been carried out, for one of the parties to it had proved faithless, and therefore the promise of the Lord had not been fulfilled, and the kingdom of God had not come. But what Moses had intended, he, Jesus, was to accomplish; and that, too, at the moment of his death. As his blood flowed out, *the* covenant would be established, the true and eternal covenant which had failed before, the covenant between God and man, between the Father and his children, the covenant of love, of life, of blessedness. Well might he say that his

[1] Compare 1 Peter i. 2.

[2] See Vol. III., p. 350; Exodus xxiv. 6—8; Hebrews ix. 18 ff.

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blood would flow for the salvation of many! And when his death had brought to pass what his life had failed to accomplish, when ere long all things were glorified, he relied upon returning and sharing with his dear ones the extreme of bliss.

This is the simplest account of what took place, and is given by Mark. The first Gospel agrees with it, except that it makes Jesus say that his blood of the covenant was shed for many "for the forgiveness of sins." But this idea that his death would be an atoning sacrifice, as well as a sacrifice of the covenant, is entirely foreign to the context, for Jesus simply declares that his sublime mission of establishing the covenant or the kingdom of God would be fulfilled at the very moment when his enemies imagined they were crushing him, and that he would triumph in his fall. We possess yet another account of this symbolical action, however, from the pen of an earlier authority than our Evangelists; for Paul mentions it in the first Epistle to the Corinthians,[1] and the version given by Luke agrees with his. This account differs from the other in several points of minor importance. For instance, Luke at any rate makes Jesus drink no more wine even at that same supper, so that he literally tasted wine for the last time when he uttered the memorable words; both Luke and Paul imply that a considerable interval, if not the whole meal-time, elapsed between the breaking and distribution of the bread, as a symbol of his body that would be given up for men, and the passing round of the cup "of the blessing,"[2] which pointed to the covenant established by the pouring out of his blood; and, more in the spirit of Paul than that of Jesus, they both make the Master speak not of *the* covenant, the only one that ever was or is, but of the *new* covenant in contrast with the old covenant of Moses;[3] but the really important peculiarity of their version is that they make Jesus say,

[1] 1 Corinthians xi. 20 ff. Compare x. 16 ff.
[2] 1 Corinthians x. 16. [3] Compare Vol. IV., pp. 62, 63.

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as he gives his disciples the bread, "Do this in remembrance of me;" and again, as he passes the cup, "Do this, as often as you drink, in remembrance of me." This points to an express institution initiated by Jesus, of which there is not a hint in Matthew or Mark.

An institution! but not, as is often supposed, the institution of the Lord's Supper. If these words are genuine, and we cannot definitely say that they are not, they probably convey no more than a simple request on the part of Jesus that when his friends met together at meals they would think of him, of this last meeting, and of his death. Hence arose the custom not only amongst the Twelve, but amongst all the believers, of celebrating "the meal of the Lord,"[1] in commemoration of his death, whenever the community assembled. We need not do more than indicate in a single word how this solemnity gradually degenerated in the Christian Church under the influence of growing superstition, until the words, "This is my body," were taken literally, till the bread, or "wafer," and the wine were supposed to change, under the blessing of the priest, into the veritable body and blood of Christ, till the sacrifice of the mass had assumed its full proportions as the bloodless repetition of Christ's atoning death.

It is at least equally probable, however, that Jesus did not really use these words at all. In that case the deep impression which his symbolical action had made upon his disciples that evening was itself enough to establish the usage amongst them of thinking more especially of his death as they broke the bread and passed round the cup at their brotherly meetings; and then this usage, which they felt to be completely in his spirit, reacted upon the history till the words, "Do this in remembrance of me!" were put into the mouth of Jesus himself. For we must remember that Paul

[1] 1 Corinthians xi. 20.

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himself was not present, and though he is the earliest witness we have, yet even his account dates from twenty years after the event itself. The stream of tradition from which he drew may therefore have been troubled already.

So much is certain, that the impression was indelible. It was the farewell meal of Jesus with his friends; and when the event had brought home this fact to them, how vividly his image must have risen up before them as he reclined at meat with them, and visibly presented his death before their eyes![1]

And all Christendom, not wishing to fall short of the disciples and first confessors in rendering the tribute of reverence to Jesus, has rightly held the memory of that last gathering sacred; has kept that evening, and the image of that noble Friend and Brother who stands prepared to offer himself up for the world, in imperishable honour.

Chapter XXXIV.

GETHSEMANE.

Matthew XXVI. 30—56.[2]

AND now, as usage required, the festive meal was ended (before midnight) by the chanting of the second part of the Hallel, during which all stood up; and then the party left the hospitable roof. They followed the usual road out of the city, across the Kidron and up the Mount of Olives. In the street Judas succeeded in stealing away unmarked, unless, as is hardly probable, he had found some earlier opportunity of quietly withdrawing. As soon as Jesus missed him he suspected that he had gone to put his unhallowed scheme into execution. Should he take to flight? It would

[1] See Luke xxiv. 30, 31.

[2] Mark xiv. 26—52; Luke xxii. 31—53.

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only avail him for a moment, if at all, and besides he was already committed to stand his ground. The attempt to escape would now be unworthy of him, and the voice within forbade it. But, on the other hand, he must instantly prepare his followers for the worst. "When I sent you out," he said, "with neither purse nor wallet nor sandals, did you want for anything?"[1] "Nothing," they replied at once. "But now," he said, "whoever has a purse or wallet let him take it, and whoever has none let him sell his very coat and get a sword. For I tell you that that text—'He was reckoned amongst the transgressors'[2]—must be now fulfilled in me. For my end is near at hand."—"Master, we have two swords," answered the disciples—as if that would have helped them!—and Jesus seeing that they did not understand broke them short abruptly.

We can by no means vouch for every word of this conversation, least of all for the citation from the Second Isaiah, but in the main it seems to be authentic. It is only given in Luke. The other two Gospels, in their turn, put the following prediction upon the Master's lips: "You will all disown me this night, for it is written, 'I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered,'[3] but when I have risen again I will go before you into Galilee;" whereupon Peter answers: "Though everyone should disown you, I never will!" Alas! his very confidence would make him first to fall! "This very night," said Jesus, "before cock-crow, you will deny three times that you know me!"—"Though I must die with you, yet will I never deny you!" cried the disciple; and all the others joined in his protestation of invincible fidelity. Then Jesus seeing how little Peter and the others knew themselves, and how they threw to the winds his exhortation to redoubled vigilance, urged it no more. According

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 233—236. [2] Isaiah liii. 12.
[3] Zechariah xiii. 7.

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to the third Gospel, he clothed his warning in the following words: "Simon, Simon, Satan has demanded you all" (as he once demanded Job from God), "to winnow you like wheat" (and make you desert me). "But I have prayed for you, that your faith may not fail. And do you, when once you have come to repentance, strengthen your brothers!" Upon which the other answered: "Lord, I am ready to go with you to prison and to death!"

Unquestionably there is truth at the foundation of this narrative, but we cannot accept it as it stands. Jesus, we may well believe, expressed his fear that when he fell for a time, as he soon must do, his disciples' faith in him would be shaken, and they would even desert him; and he warned Peter more especially, since he was the most impetuous, and therefore the most in danger of them all. But Peter would not take the warning. Jesus probably seized this same opportunity to testify his firm belief in the revival of the disciples' faith, and it is even possible that he advised them to retreat to Galilee. But when the Gospels make him definitely declare that that very night they will all desert him—that Peter will deny that he knows him, not once only, but three times over, before the end of the third night-watch, that is to say before three o'clock in the morning; when Mark, who takes the reference to the hour in a slavishly literal sense, makes him specify that the triple denial will take place "before the cock has crowed twice;" when all three Evangelists make him directly afterwards predict his resurrection quite incidentally, as if it were a matter of course or a thing of no importance; then we are safe in concluding that the predictions are framed to correspond with the actual, or rather with the supposed, results.

But we do not in the least require these later elaborations to enable us to comprehend all the depth of sadness and anxiety with which the thought of his disciples' weakness

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must have inspired Jesus at this moment; how far he was from cheating himself by a flattering and shallow confidence that all would yet go well; and how great that faith in the power of truth and love must have been which enabled him to overcome his fear, to rest assured of the renewed allegiance of his disciples, and know that his toil, and conflict, and self-sacrifice could not be in vain.

Meanwhile the company had reached the estate of Gethsemane, on their way to Bethany. This place must have belonged to some friend of Jesus, and from its position on the Mount of Olives, and its name, which signifies "oil press," we may conclude that it was an olive yard provided with the necessary offices. Here Jesus turned aside. Was he seeking a safer refuge than his usual lodging gave him? It hardly seems probable. Did he intend to spend the night there in the open air[1] because it was so late, or because the Law prescribed the custom of remaining in the holy city till the morning after the Paschal meal?[2] This portion of the western slope of the hill was indeed regarded as within the precincts of Jerusalem,[3] but the commandment in question does not seem to have been strictly observed, and Jesus would in no case recognise its binding force.[4] It is more probable that in consequence of his conversations with the disciples and the danger which threatened him at every step, he was overcome by violent emotions which he felt he could control no longer, and so withdrew for a few moments to recover his equanimity and self-command before pursuing his way to Bethany. This agrees with the words he addressed to the disciples as he entered the garden: "Sit down here while I go in to pray." The presence of his disciples at the entrance would also serve as a precaution against surprise.

[1] Compare Matthew xxvi. 45; Mark xiv. 41.
[2] Deuteronomy xvi. 7. [3] See p. 5. [4] Compare Vol. V., pp. 274, 275.

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But this time, contrary to his wont, he did not wish to be alone as he prayed. In his terror and oppression of heart he needed the companionship and support of his nearest friends, and he took Peter and the two sons of Zebedee with him. In deep dejection he entered the garden with them, and then he could contain himself no longer. He wrung his hands in an agony of sorrow and dismay, and then cried to his disciples with an appeal to their friendship: "My soul is sorrowful, to the very death! Stay here and watch with me." So the three lay down while he went on a few steps further, threw himself not only on his knees but with his face upon the ground, and prayed. All was as still as death, and the silver rays of the full moon played fantastically with the shadows of the olive leaves. After a time Jesus found words for his prayer, and above his sobs the three friends heard: "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me! And yet not my will, but thine be done!"

Is it strange that Jesus, who had seen the threatening storm gathering in the distance and drawing ever nearer, now prayed that he might be spared from suffering and death? Is it strange that he who had looked all danger steadfastly in the face now seemed to lose his courage at the last? Doubtless it was a grievous disappointment to Jesus himself when he found that the conflict he imagined to be over had returned in all its fierceness, that the terror he had already vanquished was once more too strong for him. Yet in our eyes he would be less great, less lovable, had he gone to meet his fate, impassively as a man of steel, suppressing every human feeling without apparent effort. The more keenly he felt his lot and the fiercer the conflict in his own bosom, the greater was his triumph and the higher his claims to our reverence. And who so dull as not to feel that the various events of the evening must have touched him to the quick, while the very midnight hour would heighten his feeling

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of oppression. Besides, even when he had suspected or foreseen the issue most distinctly, it had always been to some extent uncertain, it had always left a possibility of hope, and in any case it is one thing to see the clouds gathering more or less in the distance, another to know that the bolt may fall at any instant. Had Judas gone for men? Were they drawing near or lying in wait for him even now? Were they approaching him that very moment? He could expect no mercy at the hands of the authorities to whom he seemed so dangerous. He must prepare for the very worst. Snatched away from his work and from his friends in the very flower of his life! And death approached him in its most ghastly shape, as the death of a malefactor with all its attendant shame and horror. Was this the promise on which he began his work? Was it true, was it inevitable, that he must face this lot? Why could it not be otherwise? All things were possible to God, even the conversion of the bitterest foes of truth into its friends. Why should not He . . . ? Oh if it could, if it might but be that the kingdom of God should come without this bitter trial! . . . Thus did he wrestle with God in prayer. But if the only escape lay through desertion of his post, he would not seize it. He would obey God's holy will and not the promptings of his own carnal nature. He would be true to the last to the task and mission of his life. But if it could, if it could . . .

What he said after the few words we have given, and how long he prayed, we know not. The three disciples, who were the only witnesses, had nothing to report, for the same emotions that had strained the nerves of Jesus to such insupportable tension, had excited his friends to a moment's effort, and had then left them numbed and insensate. When Jesus had already partially regained his self-possession and came to speak to them, he found them

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sleeping! Even his truest friends could give him no sympathy, or, at any rate, not even the semblance of support. There was a tone of reproachful disappointment in the question he addressed to them, especially to Peter, who had been so loud in his promises but now, "asleep? Could you not watch a single hour with me? Be vigilant, and pray to God that you be spared temptation. The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak."

In these last words he uttered his own recent experience; and if he felt that he himself was weak, what must he not have feared for these well-meaning, but, alas! so feeble friends? As for himself, welcome as their support would have been, he no longer complained of its failing him. He found all that he needed in his God. Once more he withdrew and bent down in prayer. "My father, if this cup cannot pass away without my drinking it, thy will be done!" His friends heard no more, or could not remember more, but these few words suffice to show how completely he surrendered his own will, how unconditionally he yielded all that God required. When he returned to his disciples he found them asleep again, and when he roused them they were too dazed to exchange a word with him, so completely had their powers collapsed. So he left them, and found his refuge in God. At last he had completely regained his self-command. Then he was ready for the worst, and when he stood by his disciples once more, it was with the words of forgiving gentleness. "Nay, nay, sleep on, and have your rest!"

Such is the moving scene of the Master's wrestling of soul in Gethsemane! The Apostolic age itself did well in attaching high importance to it as the proof that the great Exemplar and Perfecter, however highly exalted above his brothers, had yet been like to them in all things, had felt with them, had known their temptations, their conflicts,

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their weakness, and had only learned complete obedience and realised his calling by means of suffering.[1] And let him who knows it not already learn from this scene that there is nothing shameful in shrinking from suffering if we overcome our dread by faith. Never, perhaps, has a word been spoken upon earth that has unlocked such treasures of consolation and strength in suffering as that prayer of Jesus: "Thy will be done."

We need not be surprised that oral tradition soon heightened the colouring of this scene. Luke can already tell us how an angel appeared from heaven to Jesus as he prayed and strengthened him; and how he prayed so earnestly in the fierceness of his conflict with himself that the sweat started out like gouts of blood and dropped upon the ground. But the obvious exaggeration of this addition cannot throw any reasonable doubt upon the authenticity of the original account, though even there the details are, from the nature of the case, uncertain. Matthew, for instance, speaks of three several prayers, which is a round number, whereas Luke expressly mentions only one, and Mark two. The invincible drowsiness of the only witnesses throws a certain haze of uncertainty over all details.

Two remarks may serve to support the authenticity of the narrative. The prayer of Jesus indicates that to the very last he believed that there was a possibility of the kingdom of God being founded without his falling a sacrifice himself, and was to some extent uncertain as to his own fate. It was just this alternation that caused him such agony of soul when the hope that had grown ever weaker, that he had almost completely suppressed at the Paschal supper, for a moment reasserted itself. Here then the Gospels, which made him announce his fearful end as absolutely certain weeks before, correct themselves. And again, this terrible antecedent conflict

[1] Hebrews ii. 10, 17, iv. 15, v. 2, 7—10.

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gives us the needful explanation of the Master's mood and bearing during the dread hours that follow. There is a certain proud, immovable loftiness in him; he suppresses every emotion; not the most galling insult or the fiercest suffering can draw a sigh, much less a cry of lamentation or of pain from him, until his strength forsakes him a few moments before his death. This lofty and unshaken self-reliance and reliance upon God, this strength of will, this might of spirit, without which he could not have endured the fierce ordeal, was the fruit of that hour in the olive garden.

"Wake up!—The time has come!—The Son of man is already betrayed into sinners' hands!—Rise up, and let us go!—The traitor is here!" Such were the cries with which Jesus roused his friends, and as they sprang up, still only half awake, endeavoured to apprise them of the instant danger. He had heard in the distance the sound of rapidly approaching footsteps; then the eight disciples he had left at the entrance rushed in with a terrified alarm upon their lips; while close upon their heels came an armed band of men with Judas at their head. As though he were still a friend, as though he were rejoiced to see his master again after a few hours' absence, the traitor ran to him and kissed him twice upon the cheek, with the cry, "Hail, Rabbi!" Or, according to another account, he shouted, "Rabbi! Rabbi!" as if he, too, would warn him of the danger.

This kiss was a preconcerted signal; so at least it struck the other disciples, for of course the conspirators themselves never gave any information. When Judas had stolen away from the others he had gone straight to the Temple, which was reopened at midnight on this special evening. There he had asked the officer in charge to give him some men to enable him to carry out his promise. The majority of the guards

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on service were required just then in the Temple itself; but some of them, strengthened by dependants of the high priests, were placed at his disposal, and formed a sufficiently-numerous though ill-ordered company, armed in some instances with swords and in others with cudgels; for even if the people about the Nazarene offered no resistance, it was impossible to say whether, on such a night as this, when the streets would never be quite empty, force might not be needed at some point or other. Had Judas already been to Bethany and searched in vain? Or had he come upon his eight fellow disciples on his way there, and perceived at once where the Master was? However this may be, it seems that he had taken the rather superfluous precaution of fixing upon this veritable traitor's token of a kiss to avoid the chance of his companions making any mistake in the darkness and confusion, and letting the right man escape.

"Friend, do your work!" said Jesus, sternly and briefly rejecting the false kiss, as if he would say, "*That* is no part of it!" or as the third Gospel paraphrases it, "Judas! is it with a kiss that you betray the Son of man?" But Judas had already drawn back, and the men had seized Jesus, who made no show of resistance, and were securing him in their midst. Meanwhile one of the disciples, the possessor of one of the two swords, made an effort to defend his Master, and drew. It was not Peter, for in that case his name would have been mentioned, and we should not have found him immediately afterwards in the palace of the high priest; but whoever it was he struck wildly and unskilfully, and all he did was to cut off a piece of the ear of one of the high priest's men. It was well that he was not more successful. And there resistance ended, either because Jesus instantly forbade his followers to use force, or because they themselves perceived that it was hopeless.

According to the first Gospel Jesus said: "Put back

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your sword into the sheath! For they who seize the sword shall fall by the sword. Think you that I cannot pray to my Father, and He will send me more than twelve legions of angels? But how then would the Scriptures be fulfilled that so it must be?" But in reality there was not the least time or opportunity for such an elaborate answer, and we should hardly expect a quiet aphorism from the lips of Jesus at such a moment;[1] and moreover this declaration on his part that he could command assistance from on high, and call out sixty thousand angels, a legion of the heavenly host for each disciple, agrees but ill with the prayer and the conflict which have gone before. Luke, on the other hand, begins with graphic touches that have quite the air of truth, and says that when the disciples saw what was toward they cried: "Master! shall we strike?" and without waiting his reply wounded the servant, whereupon Jesus instantly forbade all further resistance with the words, "Nay, let it come!" that is to say: Let them take me prisoner. But unfortunately the same Evangelist throws suspicion upon his whole version of the affair by going on to say that Jesus healed the wound by touching the bleeding ear, and that not only officers of the Temple but even high priests and elders were included in the band, all of which is equally incredible.

Jesus made no resistance; but when he saw the weapons in the hands of his assailants he could not refrain from saying: "Have you come out to seize me with swords and cudgels as though I were a robber? I have sat daily in the Temple teaching, and you never laid hands upon me." Luke makes him further rebuke the unworthy conduct, not of the men themselves but of those that sent them, by saying: "But this is your season. This is the power of darkness;" and, though we cannot accept the addition as authentic, it

[1] Compare Revelation xiii. 10.

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is far from inappropriate. The other two Gospels have, instead of this, the explanatory words: "But so must the Scriptures be fulfilled!" which are likewise a later addition.

So Jesus left the garden as a prisoner, but with the bearing and the feeling of a conqueror, while a settled calm was in his heart that contrasted strangely with the turmoil of feelings that had mastered him as he entered it. How different it was with his disciples! Seeing that what they had looked on as impossible had really come to pass, and that the Master lay defenceless in the power of his enemies, they all fled as they best might even before he was out of the garden. With craven hearts they forsook the Master whom they could not help, but by whose side they might at least have stood, and only sought to save themselves. And yet they seem to have been in no real danger, for we shall presently find that Peter, when recognised as a disciple, was still left at large.

Meanwhile we read of a young man who had risen from his bed and followed Jesus with a linen cloth thrown round him. The people seized him, but he slipped free of the sheet and escaped naked. Perhaps he was the son of the owner or occupier of Gethsemane. Some have conjectured that he was Mark, from the fact that the circumstance is only mentioned by the second Evangelist. Did he threaten to bring succour from elsewhere, and was that why the people tried to seize him, while they left the disciples unmolested? It may be so; but it is all mere guess work.

A few minutes afterwards the spot which in that one hour had witnessed that soul-moving conflict of the spirit, had witnessed that quiet retirement for prayer and that sudden clatter of arms, had witnessed so much greatness and so much weakness and cowardice, that spot was once again deserted and wrapped in deathlike stillness.—Unless one man

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still lingered amongst the trees, one who though himself a disciple had yet no personal danger to fear, one whose task was now accomplished, and who was left at leisure to think what he had done—Judas, the betrayer.

Chapter XXXV.

BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN.

Matthew XXVI. 57—75.[1]

THE prisoner was now taken to the high priest's palace without delay. Joseph, surnamed Caiaphas, had occupied the sacred and distinguished office of high priest for nearly eighteen years, which was something very remarkable at that time; and it is he, as president of the Sanhedrin, who seems to have been the principal instrument of the fall of Jesus.[2] It was at his house that the meeting had been held two days before, at which it was decided to lay violent hands on Jesus, and it was he who had now given the order to apprehend him. As soon as he knew that Judas of Karioth, with an adequate body of men, was on his way to seize the Nazarene, he had sent messengers to rouse a sufficient number of members of the Sanhedrin and bid them instantly attend a meeting; and at the same time he summoned certain people whom he knew to have been horrified by the things they had heard Jesus say, and upon whom he had, therefore, had his eye, in order that they might serve as witnesses at the trial.

A busy throng was therefore pressing round the high priest's door, and one of the disciples took advantage of the fact to creep inside unnoticed. It was Peter. He had fled

[1] Mark xiv. 53—72; Luke xxii. 54—71.
[2] Compare Vol. V., p. 6.

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from Gethsemane like the other ten; but he was the first to recover himself, and very soon he began to feel that he must be where the Master was, though he still feared to join him openly. So he followed at a distance, entered the house a few minutes later, and passed into the courtyard, where there were a number of court attendants and servants passing to and fro, or lying upon the ground and sitting round a fire that they had lighted, because of the night chill. The disciple joined this latter group without saying who he was. He was there at hand in case he could do anything, and at any rate he would learn the end.

In consequence of the rapid and efficient measures taken by Caiaphas, the trial could proceed almost as soon as the prisoner was brought in. But unfortunately we have not the means of forming any clear idea of its progress. The chief cause of this is our very imperfect knowledge of Jewish criminal procedure. Jewish authorities, which are the only ones on which we can rely, are scarce; and the details in the Talmud which have been supposed to refer to this special trial are mere worthless tales;—for example, that the herald summoned witnesses to prove the innocence of the prisoner for forty days, and that when no one came forward he was stoned to death and then gibbeted; or that two witnesses were bribed to listen to what he said to a pretended friend who was drawing utterances from him on purpose for them to hear; and so forth.

The Christian tradition was from the very beginning rather uncertain, for none of the friends of Jesus were present during the proceedings. Our authorities therefore do not agree. Luke says nothing of witnesses, but makes the Sanhedrin question and condemn Jesus in the morning, whereas Matthew and Mark place all this, as well as the depositions of the witnesses, in a nocturnal sitting. Luke, however, corrects himself, for he agrees with the others in

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placing the mockery, to which Jesus was exposed, in the night,[1] and this must have followed the sentence. The difficulty remains that Matthew and Mark likewise mention a second gathering in the morning, the object of which is far from clear.—The same two Gospels fall into further inaccuracies. For instance, they say that the whole Sanhedrin assembled, which is impossible when we consider the brevity of the notice; and had it been possible, the friendly disposition towards Jesus[2] of one or more of the members would have made it very unadvisable to summon them all, and since usage only required that one-third of the council, or twenty-three members, should be present, it would have been quite unnecessary also. Matthew and Mark further state that false witnesses came forward, and indeed had been procured, but we see from their own account that they only mean witnesses hostile to Jesus; for if bribery had been resorted to there would have been no occasion to search so long for satisfactory witnesses, nor would there have been any lack of agreement in the evidence.

We are, therefore, left in doubt as to many points; and indeed the whole course of the proceedings, as we are about to sketch it, chiefly after Matthew and Mark, is open to legitimate doubt. But when we consider who the judges were, we are, at any rate, safe in assuming that every judicial form prescribed by law or usage was strictly adhered to. It may seem a gross irregularity that the sentence of death was predetermined, but we must remember that the judges were already absolutely convinced either of the guilt of Jesus in attacking religion, or the dangerous significance of his person in connection with the Messianic commotion which he caused. Moreover there was crying need of haste.

It is also highly probable that the Sadducees, who en-

[1] Luke xxii. 64. [2] Mark xv. 43.

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joyed an evil notoriety for the pitiless severity with which, in distinction from the Pharisees, they executed justice, were in a majority on this occasion.[1]

It was perhaps two or three o'clock in the morning when the council opened. There sat the high priests, elders, and scribes, in a semicircle, upon cushions or rugs, with their legs crossed beneath them. Caiaphas, as president, had taken the seat of honour in the middle. The prisoner, who stood right opposite the high priest, with some officers of the court about him, was at once identified. Then the witnesses were heard. One by one, as we gather from the want of precise agreement in their evidence, they came forward, and after a solemn warning from the president to speak nothing but the truth, delivered their testimony against the Nazarene.

If they had had any witnesses from Galilee, they would have heard of his sabbath-breaking, his eating with unwashed hands, and his negligence in the matter of fasts and prayers. But probably there had been no time to summon any but natives of Jerusalem. These witnesses could speak to his triumphal entry and his cleansing of the Temple; but all this, though very culpable presumption in the eyes of the council, was no capital offence. The witnesses could speak of the prisoner's attacks upon the character of high officials held in universal honour; but even this, however scandalous, was not enough. Perhaps someone could testify to the language he had used some time before about the dietary laws; but whenever any really important charge was brought forward, there was always a want of that verbal agreement between the witnesses which was absolutely indispensable. At least two witnesses must make exactly the same statement. For a long time the absolute

[1] Compare Acts iv. 1, 6, v. 17, and v. 34 ff.

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proof required that the prisoner was a seducer of the people, that is to say a false prophet or heretic, was not forthcoming.

At last two witnesses came forward and deposed that "this man had said: I can destroy the Temple of God and raise it up again in three days." This at last was an instance of outrageous sacrilege, of blasphemy against the sacred abode of the Lord! To help us to understand the impression such words would make upon these men we may reflect how nearly Jeremiah lost his life in consequence of a far more innocent saying against the sanctuary, in an age that was far less slavishly attached to the Temple than that of Jesus was.[1] Besides the judges fully comprehended that in this saying the Temple stood for the whole religion of which it was the centre, the religion which the Nazarene dared to attempt to overthrow as unclean, that he might then restore it as modified to suit his own conceptions!

Yet even this accusation was not followed by his instant condemnation. It was not that there was any lack of agreement between the witnesses this time, for the statement to that effect appears to be a misconception on the part of Mark, who gives the saying thus: I will destroy this Temple made with hands and raise another not made with hands; that is to say: I will destroy this imperfect human work of the times before the Messiah and will establish the perfect worship of the kingdom of heaven. The real cause of delay in uttering sentence appears to have been that the president was bound to give the prisoner the opportunity of clearing himself, if he could, of the charges brought against him. Accordingly he solemnly rose from the ground, and standing at his full height in the middle, opposite to Jesus, he cried, "Have you any answer to make against these accusations?" But Jesus observed a lofty and even haughty silence, though without any kind of defiance in his mien. He thought it

[1] See Vol. IV., pp. 15–17.

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beneath him to enter with a single word upon the equally bootless and dangerous task of defending himself against men who could not understand him, who would be sure to turn his declarations against him, and who had already determined on his death.

The high priest might now have taken the votes; but he appears to have desired to extract from the prisoner himself a confession which would remove the last semblance of an unjust judgment; a confession which would throw into fullest light all the charges urged against him, including his reckless attack upon the sacred emblem of religion, and so bring out their true significance and bearing; a confession, finally, which would show how seriously public order and tranquillity were threatened by the person of the Nazarene, so that no difficulty might arise when the Roman governor was applied to for the necessary confirmation of the sentence of death. In a word, the high priest wished to draw from Jesus some declaration concerning his Messianic dignity. The judges had not any doubt that he had intended to assume this dignity, but they had no legal proof of the fact. His first entry into Jerusalem had been accompanied with a sort of Messianic demonstration. It was notorious that some, or perhaps many, of his followers cherished the expectation of seeing him found the kingdom and ascend the throne of the Messiah. A reference to the same expectation might also be traced in that presumptuous saying about the Temple. But no one present had ever heard him say, in so many words, that he laid claim to the title and rank of Messiah, though it was easy to infer as much from his bearing, and still more from his preaching, especially in recent days. The question was how to draw an unequivocal declaration from him.

The president's adroitness was equal to the occasion. He knew enough of human nature to find means of forcing his

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prisoner to answer. "If you are the Messiah, tell us so," he cried. Jesus could not remain silent after that. It was the high priest, the representative at that moment of the whole people, who called upon him to give an account of his pretensions. No one had a better right to make the demand; and Jesus could neither neglect it nor simply meet it by an unqualified affirmative. "If I told you, you would not believe me; and if I asked you, you would not answer me," he replied with quiet dignity.[1] But Caiaphas was not yet satisfied, and pressed his advantage by resuming in a solemn tone, with the usual Jewish formula for taking an oath under an invocation of the All-seeing witness and the holy Judge: "In the presence of the living God I call upon you to say plainly whether you are the Messiah, the son of God, or not!"

There was a single moment of breathless silence. All eyes were fixed on Jesus in suspense. Then his voice rang proud and clear through the hall, "You have said it! And henceforth you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of Omnipotence, see him coming with the clouds of heaven!"[2] Then the high priest rent his clothes, as was customary on hearing blasphemy, exposing his naked breast, and cried, with bitter triumph and unmasked fury in his voice: "Blasphemy! What do we want with any further witnesses? You have heard his blasphemy upon the very spot! What think you?" Then rose on every side one cry of "He must die!"

Sentence was passed. The trial was over. The Nazarene, as a blasphemer, was condemned to the punishment prescribed by the law for the false prophet.[3]

Upon this the meeting of the Council was dissolved or adjourned till the early morning, while the prisoner, now

[1] Luke xxii. 67, 68. [2] Psalm cx. 1; Daniel vii. 13.
[3] Deuteronomy xiii., xviii. 19—22.

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condemned, was put under careful guard. They were dark hours that succeeded! It was reported afterwards that Jesus was exposed to the coarse licence of the court attendants. Matthew, partly confirmed by Mark, declares that the members of the Sanhedrin themselves subjected him to the extreme of vulgar insult, but this is hardly credible. The dependants of the high priest practised but too well the lesson given in the Law, which bade them not to fear or reverence a lying prophet.[1] One would spit in his face, while another struck him with his open-hand, and others again took occasion by the crime for which he was condemned to drive their cruel sport with him as a false prophet, tying a cloth across his eyes and then striking him with their fists, and saying, "If you are a prophet, tell us who it was that struck you!"

Jesus bore it all without a complaint and without a threat. Though reviled, he reviled not again. He opened not his mouth, but was like a lamb that is led to the slaughter-house, like a sheep that is dumb before her shearers.[2]

Though far from certain, this account of the course of the trial seems to us the most probable. But the declaration of Jesus that, before the very eyes of his judges, he would immediately be glorified with heavenly splendour and return to earth, can hardly be genuine as it stands.[3] But neither can his answer to the high priest's adjuration have consisted in a simple affirmative; for the contrast between his claims and his position, between his royal title and the sentence that was all but passed, would force him to give some emphatic utterance to his confidence in himself

[1] Deuteronomy xviii. 22.
[2] See Isaiah l. 6, liii. 7; 1 Peter ii. 23; Vol. IV., pp. 110, 111.
[3] Compare Vol. V., pp. 403, 428, 429.

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and in his dignity, as a protest against the scorn which his outward circumstances would seem to justify. He may have said that his judges would themselves behold him as the Messiah, since their condemnation was itself the pledge of the establishment of the kingdom of God; and that they would see that kingdom come to their own terror should they not repent. Some such short declaration he may have made; but the words which our Gospels give are hardly intelligible, for we are not at liberty to take them figuratively, and understand them to signify the spread of Messiah's spiritual power upon earth for instance. Such a conception is quite modern, and is foreign to the New Testament, where sitting on God's right hand, and coming upon the clouds, must always be taken literally. Now taken thus and introduced by "henceforth" this announcement of a very speedy return in glory would be quite natural towards the end of the Apostolic age, when expectation was ever rising to a higher and a higher strain, and men exclaimed: "The Lord is near! He is coming quickly! The Judge is standing at the door!"[1] but on the lips of Jesus, still on earth, still in life, and standing there before his judges, it is quite out of place.

Of still greater interest is the question what the grounds of the condemnation really were. In the first place, what was the exact meaning of the crime of blasphemy? On this point we may gain a satisfactory answer by considering the evidence given about "destroying the Temple," the subsequent mockery to which Jesus was exposed as a false prophet, and the final charge of "seducing the people."[2] The last shade of doubt as to the meaning of the word *blasphemy* is removed by the account of Stephen's trial, which closely resembles that of Jesus, and in which the expression "blasphemous words against Moses and against God" is

[1] Revelation xxii. 10, 12, 20; James v. 8, 9, &c.
[2] Luke xxiii. 2, 5; Matthew xxvii. 63.

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explained to mean "words against the Temple and the Law." It further appears that Stephen's "blasphemy" consisted in the statement that when the kingdom of God was established Jesus would destroy the Temple and change the institutions of Moses.[1] Blasphemy, then, was teaching at variance with and in direct contradiction of the only true and established religion. It was a similar conception to that of *heresy* in Christendom. It was an attack upon the infallible truth revealed by God, an attempt to draw away the people from the institutions of Moses and the true faith. Jesus stood before the Sanhedrin as the Protestants subsequently stood before the Inquisition.

If we go on to ask the bearing of this upon the condemnation of Jesus for claiming to be the Messiah, it must be admitted that the answer is not clear. For a man to consider and proclaim himself the future Messiah might well appear to the Sadducees fanaticism and political treason; and for Jesus to do so without anything whatever to substantiate his claim might brand him as a false prophet in the eyes of the Pharisees; but it was no blasphemy. In the eyes of his enemies, however, the guilt of his desperate attempt to reform the national religion was aggravated by his pretensions to the title of Messiah, which brought out the full danger of his schemes, and showed how thoroughly in earnest he was with his shameful plans, and how completely he considered himself personally qualified to carry them out. This was why Caiaphas was so anxious to have his suspicions confirmed upon this point, and in lack of direct testimony determined to extract the declaration from Jesus himself.

Finally, if called upon to say whether Jesus was justly or unjustly condemned, we should answer that from the point of view of the Law, that is to say on the principles of

[1] Acts vi. 11, 13, 14.

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Israelitish jurisprudence, he was guilty. We must remember that religious freedom was not dreamt of in the Jewish state, any more than it subsequently was in the States of the Church, for instance, as long as the chief priest of Rome had temporal jurisdiction. Indeed, before the French Revolution there was hardly such a thing as religious freedom anywhere; and for how short a time have Spain, Italy, and Scandinavia known it! Now Jesus had most certainly come into open antagonism with the Jewish religion, with the essential principle and with many special utterances of the Law, with the established practice of the temple service, with the inviolable institutions of tradition, and the sacred persons of the priests and leaders. From the Jewish point of view, accordingly, that is to say on the assumption of the infallible, absolutely divine character of the revelation, of the Scripture, of the Law, Jesus deserved condign punishment. Any ecclesiastical religion resting upon a revelation would have condemned him to death as a blasphemer.

The real guilt lay with the religious prejudice, the orthodoxy, with which Jesus had come into collision, and with which at last he had closed in a struggle for life and death.

We left Peter in the courtyard, from which there was an ascent of several steps into the judgment hall, warming himself at the fire with some of the attendants; but when the members of the Council left the palace to snatch a few hours' rest he was no longer there, so that if Jesus was led there after his condemnation he must have found himself without a single friend. What had become of his disciple then?

He had not considered the danger to which he was exposing himself, or whether he was really able to face it. This appeared but too soon. As he stood there assuming the air of an indifferent spectator as best he could, he excited the

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attention of one of the female servants of Caiaphas, who looked hard at him, went up to him, and said: "Why you are one of the followers of Jesus of Galilee!" Perhaps it was only a chance impression; perhaps she had some reason for it; but in any case Peter was taken quite by surprise. Everyone looked at him, and he, utterly unnerved, and fearing he might be driven out with ignominy, or perhaps made a prisoner, answered—scarcely knowing what he said—"I don't know what you mean!"

But if he expected to escape in this way he was mistaken. Attention was now fixed upon him. Presently he moved towards the porch, for though as yet he had come to no true sense of his own cowardice and faithlessness, he was no longer at his ease. Here the same or another girl noticed him, and said to the people standing by: "He is one of that Nazarene's company;" and Peter, thinking it was now too late to retreat, repeated the denial more emphatically: "I do not know the man!" Then, to carry the matter off, he began to speak to them about other things; but he only succeeded in exposing himself, for his Galilæan accent at once betrayed him, and several of them turned upon him with the words: "Well but you are one of them, for we can tell by your talk that you come from Galilee!" Then Peter was driven to desperation, and said, with an oath and an imprecation on himself if it were not true: "I do not know him!"

The servants shrugged their shoulders in contempt, while Peter staggered through the passage and out of the gate burning with shame and confusion. Out there in the stillness of night he came to himself, and knew that he had shamefully denied his Master! Fool that he had been, in his reckless self-confidence and blindness, to fling those earnest warnings of his Master's to the wind. And now he had denied him again and yet again!

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He was utterly broken down. Tears of shame and deep repentance started to his eyes, and he did not check their flow. Those bitter tears were the blessed sign that he would rise again from his deep fall.

The Gospels tell us that at the third denial the cock crowed and that Peter then remembered the Master's prediction. According to Mark the cock crowed once at the first denial and again at the third, which accords with the form in which the same Evangelist gives the prediction of Jesus. Luke, who represents Jesus as having spent the night hours under the charge of the guards and not before the Sanhedrin, says that he turned round and looked at his disciple when he had denied him for the third time. This pathetic touch, however, depends upon the special representations of the third Evangelist, on which we have said enough already.[1] The disagreements of the Gospels in this matter are impossible to remove, but are of small importance. The fact of the denial itself, repeated as it naturally would be with ever-growing emphasis, is clear; but we should not dare even to insist upon the exact number of three denials.

Want of self-knowledge and too great confidence had brought the friend and disciple of Jesus to so deep a fall, and repentance and humility would raise him from it.

This scene unlocks the significance to that beautiful description of Jesus walking upon the sea and Peter coming out to him.[2]

[1] See pp. 82, 83, 94, 95. [2] Vol. V., pp. 344, 345.

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Chapter XXXVI.

THE SENTENCE OF DEATH CONFIRMED.

Mark XV. 1–20*a*.[1]

THE first light of morning found the members of the Council once again assembled. In their zeal for the service of the Lord they had almost completely robbed themselves of the sweet repose which should have followed the day of rejoicing! But there was need of haste. The whole matter must, if possible, be settled, and the Nazarene executed before the people were about, for fear his disciples might make some attempt to rescue him.

Why this second meeting was necessary we cannot say. Perhaps it was needed for the observance of some form without which the sentence of death would not have legal force. It is possible, for instance, that the night meeting had not been attended by the requisite number of councillors, or that meetings must be called in some particular place such as the temple court, or within certain hours, in order to give validity to their decisions. It has been supposed that the whole Sanhedrin[2] was now summoned to hear a short summary of the results of the trial, and then confirm the provisional sentence passed by those who had been present, and so make it a formal decision. But the number of the members (no less than seventy) and the shortness of the notice make this conjecture very unlikely. The most probable supposition is that the morning sitting was simply convened to consider the best means of carrying out the sentence.

The Law prescribed stoning; but to venture upon overstepping their real authority and infringing upon the juris-

[1] Matthew xxvii. 1, 2, 11—31*a*; Luke xxiii. 1—25.
[2] Matthew xxvii. 1; Mark xv. 1. See also p. 95.

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diction of their Roman masters by proceeding to the execution[1] would only have been safe if they could have calculated with absolute certainty upon the support of the people, who would have had to carry out the sentence. In this instance it would obviously be well to proceed in due course and request the governor to confirm the sentence of death; in which case the Nazarene would perish on the cross as a tumult maker; for the council perfectly understood that in laying the matter before the Roman authorities it would be necessary to lay chief stress upon the fact that Jesus had proclaimed himself the Messiah, the mighty king whom the Jews were expecting, and was therefore a dangerous character. What was really the head and front of his offence, namely his attack upon the Jewish religion, would hardly be comprehensible to the heathen governor, and would probably seem unimportant to him.[2] It might therefore be kept in the background. The charge of sedition, then, was carefully made out, and if a memorial was drawn up to present to the governor it doubtless insisted upon the prisoner's pretensions to the dignity of king of Jews, which his own unequivocal confession, together with his conduct and that of his followers, was said to substantiate. But most likely the accusation was made by word of mouth. In any case it was followed by a request that orders might be given to proceed at once to the execution of the sentence passed by the Sanhedrin on the grounds alleged.

Early in the morning, then, a deputation from this body waited upon the Roman, and took the prisoner, now bound and guarded, with them. They were doubtless supported by many other members of the council who came out of interest in the proceedings, and held themselves in readiness to support their petition if needful. Pontius Pilate (of whom

[1] See Vol. V., p. 6; and Acts vii. 58.

[2] See Acts xviii. 14—16, xxiii. 29.

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we have already had reason to form a very unfavourable opinion[1]) had come with some troops from Cæsarea to keep order during the feast days, as usual, and had probably quartered himself in Herod's palace, in the north-western portion of the upper city.[2] This magnificent and enormous castle is extolled by Josephus even above the Temple. With its two gigantic wings, its beautiful and stately colonnades, its luxurious park, its numerous outbuildings, and the well-turreted and lofty wall that ran all round, it was at once a mighty fortress and an entrancing pleasure house. Here Pilate, after the Roman custom, was accessible after sunrise to give audiences and pronounce judgment. In accordance with the established rule of publicity in the administration of justice, the accusation and subsequent inquiry must have been made in the open air, on the far-stretching terrace in front of the central edifice. Here the governor would order his seat of judgment to be placed as soon as he heard the nature of the business, and here his assessors would sit beside him, while the accusers took the seats assigned to them, and the prisoner was stationed in front. Nothing is said of interpreters, though all the proceedings were certainly conducted in Greek.[3] The members of the Sanhedrin would be able to understand and speak this language, and Jesus himself can hardly have been entirely ignorant of it, for the population of the district from which he came was of very mixed nationality, and included a certain number of Greeks.

If the councillors had flattered themselves that Pilate, who never seemed to think much of the life of a Jew, would grant their request at once, they were disappointed. He went into the matter.[4] When he had ascertained the prisoner's name he asked him whether he admitted the charge brought against him. "Are you the king of the Jews?"

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 122, 123, 445.
[2] See Map IV., No. 4.
[3] See Vol. V., p. 2.
[4] Compare Acts xxv. 16.

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The Gospels say that Jesus assented; but this appears so extraordinary as to be almost incredible. For, in the first place, Jesus could not have made the admission truthfully; and, in the next place, it would have decided the whole matter, and made any further examination and accusation unnecessary, any further doubt or investigation impossible; and, lastly, the sequel seems to indicate that Jesus made no reply whatever, either to the accusations brought against him or to the question of the governor.[1]

It is certain, at any rate, that Pilate did not believe in the guilt of Jesus. And no wonder; for he had never heard of any attempt at sedition on the part of this man, and did not think his appearance was that of an adventurer. As soon as the high priests saw that their accusation had failed to produce its effect, they began to work it out in more detail. Luke gives us some examples of the line they took. "We have discovered after careful investigation that this man is a seducer of the people, and forbids them to pay tribute to the Cæsar, saying that he himself is the Messiah, the king." "He stirs up the people all through Judæa. He began in that turbulent land of Galilee, and now he has come here." And according to another edition of the third Gospel they added, "He makes the women and children apostates, for he would abolish the purifications prescribed to us." "He annuls the Law and the prophets."

We can easily see to what extent the councillors were justified, from their own point of view, in making these accusations.[2] They certainly regarded Jesus as a destroyer of religion and seducer of the people; and that saying of his about the tribute, when brought into connection with his claims to the Messianic dignity, might well be turned against him; for in the kingdom of God there would of course be no

[1] Matthew xxvii. 12, 14.

[2] See p. 25, and Vol. V., pp. 8, 113, 236, 358, 359, 296 f.

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trace of the Roman supremacy. On the other hand, it is unfair to draw inferences from a man's words, which he himself would emphatically reject, and of course it was only the grossest party spirit that could dictate these malicious accusations. On this ground we can understand why Jesus still observed a lofty silence when the opportunity was given him of clearing himself. The misrepresentations of his conduct and his teaching were the result of obstinate blindness, and no attempt to remove them would avail. Silence was the only means of preserving his dignity. But the governor, in very natural surprise, exclaimed: "Have you no answer? You hear all their accusations?" In vain. Jesus would not reply, and his silence, while increasing Pilate's surprise, deepened his conviction of the prisoner's innocence.

It is difficult to say what course the trial might now have taken had not a sudden turn been given to it at this moment.

It is not quite clear how it was caused. The governor, we are told, was in the habit of gratifying the people at the Passover by releasing a prisoner whom they selected. This custom is entirely unknown to us except from the Gospels, and was probably introduced by Pilate himself, or one of his predecessors, to conciliate or appease the Jews. In any case the object of the custom was obviously to prevent seditions at the great feast of the nation's freedom. Sometimes the execution of rebels was deferred to the Passover in order to serve as a terrible example; while the pardon of a popular favourite, on the other hand, might have the effect of propitiating the people. Thus two opposite ways were taken to reach the same goal.

Now while Pilate was sitting in judgment and the councillors were arguing their points against Jesus, the thin attendance of the public at this early hour was swelled by a considerable concourse of citizens, who came from various

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quarters up the hill and through the gates of the royal fortress to ask the governor to grant the usual pardon to a prisoner. Was this the morning fixed by usage? Or were they drawn together by a chance report that the question of releasing the prisoner was now being dealt with, or was shortly coming on? At such a season it needed little to collect a growing crowd.

No doubt the high priests began to be anxious and uneasy when they saw the people streaming together. Pilate, on the other hand, saw a sudden chance of putting an end to the trial, which he hardly knew how to deal with, and releasing this extraordinary prisoner. He would get the people to demand his liberation and then all would be settled! For he had clearly perceived that the Jewish authorities cherished a rancorous hatred against the Nazarene; but he did not suppose the people would share it. Perhaps he knew, or had just learned from the accusers, that this man had a following amongst the people.—So the Roman rose from his seat, demanded silence with a gesture of command, and said: "I will grant your request! Shall I release Jesus, the King of the Jews?" Then he resumed his seat to give them time to consider.

Pilate had been as clumsy as usual. His tone of contemptuous mockery was little calculated to win assent to his propositions. And yet he had nearly accomplished his end. But the councillors, maddened at the thought of losing their prey after all, bent all their energies to diverting the popular choice from Jesus, and had the presence of mind to suggest a genuine popular favourite. There happened to be a certain Jesus Barabbas, or Jesus son of Abbas, in prison at the time. His full name has only been preserved in certain manuscripts of the first Gospel. Elsewhere, out of a very natural reverence for the name of *Jesus*, he is simply called Barabbas. Matthew tells us he was a celebrated prisoner;

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Mark, that he had been concerned in a tumult that ended in bloodshed. He was probably a fanatical patriot, who had killed a Roman soldier in his zeal for the Lord. Perhaps he was to be executed that very day. This was the man whom the members of the Sanhedrin suggested to the people in order to cause a diversion and prevent their demanding the liberation of Jesus of Nazareth. Matthew, indeed, makes the suggestion come from Pilate himself, who says, "Shall I release Jesus Barabbas, or Jesus called Christ?" but this is improbable, as it would only have allowed the people a choice between two men.

But whoever first brought forward the name of Barabbas, and whether the people, if left to themselves, would have decided in favour of Jesus or not, it is certain that Pilate was quite thrown out of his calculations. Perhaps a few voices were raised for Jesus at first, and possibly the liberation of some third prisoner was demanded here and there; but those who dissented from the majority were soon shouted down, and from every quarter of the ample court the cry resounded, "Barabbas! Let us have Barabbas!" The dependants of the councillors and the men of Jerusalem generally were doubtless loudest in the shout, for the priestly authorities had great influence over them. A desire to cross the wishes of Pilate, resentment at his haughty and contemptuous language, the sight of the unsuccessful prophet or Messiah, and partiality to the zealot, all contributed towards this wretched choice.

Pilate saw that what he had regarded as a happy inspiration had turned out a blunder. But instead of at once recovering himself he persisted, with unpardonable weakness, in making the people judge in his place. He concealed his vexation and disappointment, and asked, "Then what shall I do with this man that you call the king of the Jews?" He gave them an opening to demand his

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liberation also. But in vain. "Crucify him!" shrieked the councillors and their dependants; and the multitude, determined to thwart Pilate, smarting under his repeated scoff, and having definitely espoused the cause of the Sanhedrin, took up the murderous cry of "Crucify him!" They were eager to show the insulting Roman that his helpless prisoner was no king of *their* choosing, whatever *he* might be pleased to call him! The Governor's anger now began to rise, but he only made matters worse and exposed his own weakness and folly yet more by his expostulation, "Well, but what harm has he done?" The stormy cry rose wilder than ever from all sides of the court, "Crucify him!" Then Pilate gave it up. He had bound his own hands, and really did not care about the matter enough to make a vigorous stand against the popular demand and risk disturbances. He saw that he must let the excited people have their way, ordered the release of Barabbas, and turned to Jesus with the few but fearful words, "I sentence you to the cross!"

The supreme authority had ratified the sentence of the Sanhedrin.

Here let us pause to review the later additions to this narrative preserved in Matthew and Luke. The feelings of early Christendom were not satisfied by this tradition of the trial before the procurator. They demanded more emphatic witness to the innocence of Jesus, and warmer interest on the part of the Roman. As the heathen world had given Christianity a reception which, when compared with the stubbornness of the Jews, might be considered favourable, so they felt that Pilate himself, as representing the heathens, must have taken a very definite stand against the Sanhedrin and the people on behalf of Jesus, must have made every effort to rescue him, instead of displaying the comparative indifference that we have witnessed. This idea was afterwards

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worked out into such fictions as we find in the apocryphal Gospel *of Nicodemus*, where the trial is expanded and embellished with every manner of supernatural adjunct past all recognition. But all this, as foreign to our present purpose, we may pass by.

Matthew tells us that when Pilate had given the Jews their choice between Jesus and Barabbas and resumed his seat, he received a message from his wife, whom later traditions call Claudia Procula, to this effect: "Take care what you do to that righteous man, for I have had dreadful dreams about him in the night!" It was an omen, sent to warn her husband not to draw down the vengeance of the deity upon his head. We may call to mind in this connection how large a part dreams play elsewhere in the latest additions to this Gospel.[1] Now when Pilate, we are told soon afterwards, saw that his attempts to rescue Jesus had failed, that his opposition to the people's stormy demands was unavailing, and that there was imminent risk of a tumult, he attempted to bring the people to their senses by a visible presentment of his own feelings. He sent for a basin of water, and washed his hands before all the multitude, with the words: "I will have nothing to do with shedding this man's blood. I publicly renounce all share in his execution. The whole responsibility rests upon you!" But the surging multitude, in its miserable blindness, did not hesitate for a moment to incur the appalling guilt which it failed to recognise, and shrieked: "His blood be upon us and our children!" Then, at last, Pilate gave way.—But this scrupulous anxiety to preserve a human life is still less in keeping with the Roman procurator's character than the adoption of the Jewish custom of washing the hands in token of innocence;[2] and the imprecation that follows is evidently laid upon the lips of the people

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 51, 88, 90.

[2] Deuteronomy xxi. 6 ff.; compare 2 Samuel iii. 28.

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in view of the destruction of Jerusalem, which was regarded as a punishment for the murder of the Messiah.[1]

Luke goes still further in describing the heathen governor's favourable disposition, and in giving testimonies to the innocence of Jesus. He makes Pilate, on hearing that Jesus is a Galilæan, and therefore under the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, send him to the Tetrarch himself, who was in Jerusalem celebrating the Passover. Herod, says the Evangelist, was greatly delighted, for he had long wished to see Jesus,[2] in consequence of all he had heard of him, and now he hoped he would work some wonder in his presence. But Jesus did not so much as deign to answer any of his questions, though the members of the Sanhedrin, who were also there, made violent accusations against him. Then the careless and irreverent prince compensated himself for his disappointment by joining his troops in mocking Jesus as a harmless fanatic, and clothing him in a royal robe of shining white. Then he sent him back to Pilate, whom he thanked for his courtesy, explaining at the same time that there was no pretext for charging Jesus with political offences. After that the hostility between the Roman procurator and the only surviving son of Herod gave place to friendship.

Pilate, says Luke, had from the first declared to the members of the Sanhedrin and the people that he could find no guilt in the man, and now, according to the third Gospel, he summoned them again and said: "You have brought this man before me as a seducer of the people, but I have examined him in your presence and have not found him guilty of any of the things with which you charge him. Nor has Herod found him guilty, for I referred you to him, but nothing was brought to light to justify the sentence of death. I will have him beaten, therefore, to satisfy you, and will then release him." Then came the cry for the release of Barabbas rather than

[1] Compare Matthew xxi. 41, xxii. 7. [2] See Vol. V., p. 348

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Jesus, upon which Pilate spoke again, with the undisguised intention of securing the release of Jesus; and when the people shouted "Crucify him!" Pilate declared for the third time that he could find nothing worthy of death in him, and repeated his proposal only to scourge him. All in vain!

The conduct here ascribed to Pilate is highly improbable; and so is that of Herod, who had wished to get Jesus out of the way, not long before, as a dangerous character.[1] The statement in the Acts[2] that Herod and Pilate had conspired with heathens and Israelites *against* Jesus the holy servant of God is far less unlikely; but the co-operation and subsequent friendship of Pilate and Herod are in any case very improbable, for these two men must always have been jealous and suspicious of each other, since Herod was constantly aiming at reuniting all the portions of his father's kingdom under his own sceptre.[3] Finally, the scourging which Jesus was forced to undergo was not intended as an independent punishment. It generally preceded executions, especially upon the cross, and was inflicted upon Jesus, according to the most trustworthy accounts as the beginning of the crucifixion. Like the mockery to which he was also subjected, it must have followed directly upon the delivery of the sentence, and in the palace of the procurator.

The oldest Gospels give the following account of it. The executioners, in this case the soldiers, seized the prisoner, and stripped him, fastened his hands behind his back, bound him to a post with his back bent forward, and scourged him with thongs or ropes, with some sharp, hard substance fixed to the ends. A hideous barbarity! When this was over, it appears that some preparations were still needful before they could set out for the place of execution, and the Nazarene was, therefore, kept in a guard-room or an inner

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 351 f. [2] Acts iv. 27.
[3] See p. 25, and Vol. V., pp. 4, 5, 445.

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court. But even here he had no respite. The brutalised soldiers found a pleasure in exposing the defenceless and tortured "king" to the coarse licence of their raillery. They called all the band together, and instead of giving Jesus his own clothes again, they threw a scarlet robe upon him, such as the Roman warriors and generals wore, while from time to time it was conferred as an honour upon foreign princes. Then one of them brought a reed and thrust it into his right hand for a sceptre; while another hastily cut some bits of bramble, twisted them loosely into a crown, and forced them upon his temples. Then they bowed in mock solemnity before him, and cried, "All hail, thou king of the Jews!" After which they spit in his face, and snatched the reed from his hand to strike him with it on the head. Thus they drove their cruel sport with him till everything was ready for the execution. Then they hastily stripped him of the scarlet mantle, gave him his own clothes again, and led him out to the hill of Golgotha, outside the city gate, where the crucifixion was to take place.

The heart turns sick at such a scene! What a depth of shame and suffering! And Jesus knew that the worst was yet to come. What could have kept him from sinking into dull despair, what could have preserved him from loathing and detesting his fellow-men in the midst of all this cruelty and coarseness, except the strength of faith and love, and the constant recurrence to the thought that in spite of all, or rather by means of all, that he must suffer, even to the crushing horrors of the end, the goal of his life would be reached, though only in his death![1] And so his deep humiliation does but make him greater and more glorious in our eyes, does but deepen our reverence for him, and teach us to feel the holiness of suffering. God was with him of a truth in these hours. The Father had not left him alone.[2]

[1] See p. 78.] [2] John viii. 29, xvi. 32.

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Chapter XXXVII.

THE CRUCIFIXION.

Mark XV. 20*b*—47.[1]

IN accordance with the general custom, the sentence of death was carried out at once, under the orders of the judge; and in this case therefore by the Roman soldiers and not, as Luke implies, by the Jews.[2] The proceedings before Pilate may have occupied an hour, or, at the outside, two hours, and the further preparations cannot have caused any long delay. It is therefore very possible that the crucifixion took place at about nine o'clock in the morning as is indicated in a note, of later origin, in the second Gospel.[3] The whole force which the procurator had brought from Cæsarea to garrison the royal fortress, consisting of at least a cohort or battalion, was standing under arms in the court; and a maniple or company was now ordered out to keep order during the execution, the whole conduct of which was entrusted to the officer in command.

The procession set out through the gate of the palace and along the street. It was usual on such occasions to go through the most frequented quarters of the city in order to give the terrible example its greatest possible effect. In front went a herald proclaiming the culprit's offence, which was further set out in painted letters on a white board to be nailed over the head of the cross, and in this case the words were "The King of the Jews." Then came the condemned man himself, carrying, as a sign of disgrace, the instrument of torture upon which he was to end his life; not the whole of it, however, but only the cross-beam to be fixed upon the

[1] Matthew xxvii. 31*b*–61; Luke xxiii. 26–56.
[2] Luke xxiii. 25. [3] Mark xv. 25.

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upright stake. Together with Jesus two robbers, whose execution had been delayed till the feast time, were led out to death.

Nothing is recorded of the progress to the place of execution, except that when the city gate was reached the cross was taken away from Jesus. This was no mark of pity, but only a measure to prevent delay and trouble; for in spite of the strokes and blows of the executioners Jesus could go no further; his strength failed and he could bear the beam no longer. A certain Simon, a native of Cyrene, in North Africa, who happened to be just entering the city, was compelled by the soldiers to take up the beam and carry it to the place of death. It was naturally against his will that he was pressed into the service, and since the second Gospel calls him the father of Alexander and Rufus,[1] as if these names belonged to well-known Christians, it has been conjectured that Simon, being brought into such close contact with Jesus, afterwards joined the community of his disciples.

All else that we are told under this head is very doubtful, if not distinctly legendary. Thus, Luke tells us that in the crowd which followed the procession there were many women who wept and lamented for Jesus, with cries and gestures of grief. But he turned to them and disclaimed their pity with the words: "Daughters of Jerusalem! weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and your children. For days of such unutterable woe are coming that the blessing of motherhood shall be held a curse, and the childless woman shall be counted blessed in Israel. Then shall the fugitives, in their despair, cry to the mountains, 'Fall upon us!' and to the hills, 'Cover us!' For if all this comes upon the green tree (upon me), what will not be done to the dry (this abandoned generation)!" There is a tone of lofty earnestness and pity in these words; but they are not given by either of

[1] Compare Romans xvi. 13.

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the first two Evangelists, we are quite unprepared to hear them from Jesus, who had hitherto been absolutely silent, and was now utterly exhausted, the occasion hardly afforded an opportunity for their utterance, and they give us the impression of having been written after the destruction of Jerusalem.[1]

The later traditions of the Church tell us of a certain woman, Veronica, who was deeply moved with pity, wiping the brow of Jesus with a napkin, and in reward for her compassion finding the image of the sufferer stamped upon it ever afterwards!—On the other hand we are told of a Jew, Ahasuerus, who drove Jesus heartlessly away when he would have rested for a moment on the bench before his house; upon which Jesus condemned him to wander restlessly over the earth without being able to die, till he should return from heaven as the Christ. This was the wandering Jew,—the Jewish people, condemned for its obduracy to survive when every other ancient people was no more, without a fatherland, in exile everywhere, till the kingdom of God be perfected.—Finally, we may mention that from the fourteenth century down to the present day the streets have been pointed out in Jerusalem along which Jesus is said to have been taken. They are known as the Via Dolorosa, or Woeful Way, and lead through the Sheep Gate, between Moriah and Bezetha, past the palace of Pilate (the castle of Antonia), through the Gate of Judgment, to Golgotha;[2] and the visitor is still shown the very spots at which each detail is said to have occurred.

Though the ancients had no regular places of execution, like our "Traitor's Hill" for instance, yet they always chose some place outside the city gates, and by preference a spot exposed to view on every side, conspicuous from a distance,

[1] Compare p. 58. [2] See Map IV.

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and hard by some frequented thoroughfare. Doubtless these conditions were fulfilled by the place selected on this occasion, which was Golgotha. Its name, which signifies "skull," suggests a bare, round hill, which we must suppose to have been situated just outside the city, at some spot where there would be crowds of passers by. Its site, however, can no longer be identified.[1] The tradition that points out the present Golgotha, where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands, is groundless.

The destination was soon reached and the execution begun. We will not outrage the feelings of our readers by describing all the details of what followed, but we cannot pass it by completely. The savage inhumanity of this form of execution, expressly designed to make the criminal die as slowly and painfully as possible, is beyond all description; and it had further gathered round itself the maximum of disgrace and shame, for it was reserved for slaves, robbers, deserters, and rioters. Entirely foreign to the Jewish penal code, it had been introduced and freely practised by the Romans in their provinces, as a palpable proof of their supremacy, and an example well calculated to inspire terror. The punishment had now become so familiar to the Jews that the people themselves had instantly suggested it to Pilate in answer to his question, "What shall I do with Jesus?"

The cross had various forms. Sometimes the beams were crossed obliquely, like an X; sometimes they were at right angles, with the upright stake projecting slightly above the cross-beam, thus †; sometimes the cross had the shape of a T; and the most ancient tradition says that this was the case with the cross of Jesus. At the place of execution, the longest and thickest beam, or stake, was fixed upright in the ground either when the execution took place or beforehand, and was duly secured against swaying. Then the criminal

[1] See Vol. III., pp. 5, 6. Compare Hebrews xiii. 12.

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was stripped, his extended arms were secured by strong cords to the other beam, and then long, sharp nails were driven through his open palms deep into the wood. Then the cross-beam was raised above the upright stake, or fixed near the top of it. The sufferer's body was so far supported as to prevent its weight from wrenching his hands away from the nails, and his feet, which nearly touched the ground, since the cross was seldom high, were fixed to the upright beam by a sharp iron bolt. Then the executioner's task was over, and it only remained to keep guard. The scorching heat of the sun, the insupportable thirst, the inflamed and burning wounds, and the strained, unnatural attitude, each of which grew more intolerable every moment, while none could be alleviated, the rush of blood to the heart and brain, the unbearable pain and exhaustion—all these must do the rest. None of the wounds were fatal in themselves, and if no finishing stroke were given to the victim it was generally four-and-twenty hours, and sometimes, if his system were strong, two or three days, before his tortures had an end.

And on this occasion, also, everything was done as usual. The place of execution was lined by soldiers. The three stakes were already there or were now erected not far from one another. The middle one was for the Nazarene. And here one touch of humanity lightens the hideous spectacle. A Jewish usage[1] prescribed that a numbing potion should be given the victims before they suffered. Jewish tradition states that distinguished ladies of Jerusalem prepared it at their own expense from strong wine and grains of frankincense. The first Gospel speaks of wine mixed with wormwood,[2] and Mark of wine and myrrh. In any case it was a fragrant drink of numbing and therefore pain-allaying properties. But when the executioners offered the cup to Jesus he refused

[1] See Proverbs xxxi. 6, 7.

[2] Matthew xxvii. 34, after an amended version.

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it, perhaps after tasting it half mechanically and perceiving from its bitter though pleasant taste the purpose it was meant to serve. He wished to preserve his full consciousness to the very last, and he felt strong enough in God to bear the worst.

They stripped him of his clothes, which fell to the executioners; he was bound, nailed, lifted up, nailed again. Above his head the board already mentioned was fixed, recording his offence in Latin, Greek, and—if Pilate's writers understood enough of the language—in Hebrew. Then the two robbers, right and left of him, met the same fate.

The soldiers had done their work. Four sentries were left to guard each cross, and were probably relieved at noon, the relays succeeding each other every three hours. The booty was divided by throwing lots from a helmet, to decide who should have the upper and who the under garment. The officer in charge meanwhile paced up and down, and remained upon the place of execution as the responsible agent of the procurator.

There Jesus hung, a prey to unutterable tortures, like the refuse and the scum of society, laden with its curse! Alas, it seemed as though he were rejected and thrust out by every one; for not a single friend had dared to show his face upon the hill—ah, yes! there, behind that group of spectators, is a little cluster of faithful Galilæan women, Magdalene, Mary, Salome, and others, who had come with him to the feast from the fatherland.[1] Although the glorious expectations of their faith had been disappointed no less than those of the disciples, yet their love never flagged. And when the hearts of all the men had failed them these faithful women dared to come to the hill of crucifixion, that if by chance Jesus should turn his eyes around in hopes of

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 237, 238, 431, 449.

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meeting some responsive glance of love and pity, he might not look in vain. All honour to their steadfast love!

Alas! his enemies were also there, and did not spare him even now. They felt no reverence for the greatness of his woe; they had nothing but taunts for the utter wreck of his mighty schemes. While many of the spectators looked on in silence, there were some who could not leave him unmolested even now. Passers by railed at him, wagging their heads in sign of contempt and mockery. These were apparently members of the council and their subordinates in the first instance, who were acquainted with the details of the trial, and turned their poisoned shafts against him as the unsuccessful reformer and the false Messiah. "Ah! you who can break down the Temple and build it up again in three days, can you save yourself from the cross?" cried one, while the rest applauded his sally. "If you really are the son of God why don't you come down?" was caught up from mouth to mouth amongst another group. We are expressly told that the high priests and scribes hurled at him the taunting challenge, "There hangs the Messiah! Israel's mighty king! If he will but come down from the cross, we will all believe in him." Nay, so infectious is the spirit of reviling mockery that the very robbers who were crucified with him caught up the cry, as if they found some alleviation in their pain by venting their rage and spleen on Jesus.

According to the Gospels, even his own deeds of mercy were now thrown in his teeth, "He saved others, but he cannot save himself!" And since the primitive Christians regarded the twenty-second Psalm as the programme of the sufferings of the Messiah, Matthew goes the length, in the face of all likelihood, of making the councillors cry, "He trusted in God! Then let Him deliver him, if He takes pleasure in him; for he said, 'I am the son of God!'"[1] We

[1] See Psalm xxii. 7—9. Compare Vol. III., pp. 406—409.

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need not stay to consider this any further; but we would fain know, were it possible, whether the words of scorn went home; and what was passing in the sufferer's heart during these hours. But here we can only guess. For Jesus, with unbroken firmness, preserved a lofty, a heroic, a majestic silence. He had not so deadened his human feelings by fanatical exaltation as to rejoice, as many martyrs have done, in the midst of his sufferings. But he showed such strength of soul, such self-command, that in the midst of hideous tortures not a sigh or lamentation broke from his lips, at any rate until the very hour of his death. Such was the fruit of his unrelaxed self-discipline, and at the last of his prayer in Gethsemane![1] So, after all, we are not wholly without indications of the mood in which he met his death. He had done all he could to keep his consciousness unclouded, and even in these hours he lived with God. He doubtless thought of his suffering and death, since the event had shown that they were inevitable, as a part of his life-task, needful to ensure the establishment of the kingdom of God. He had been faithful, he had shrunk from nothing, and it was not in vain that he had braved the worst. He could think of the past without self-reproach, and the future was rich in the fairest hopes. His eye was turned to heaven with unbroken trust in God; with unextinguished love for for man, he looked down from his cross upon those blinded multitudes and that city that murdered the prophets!

To a certain extent at least his thoughts are strikingly interpreted by a few sentences which the third Evangelist lays upon his lips. He tells us that as Jesus was being fixed to the cross, or immediately afterwards, he said: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!" But at this moment he was surrounded only by the Roman soldiers, who were simply doing their duty, whereas the prayer must,

[1] See pp. 88, 89.

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from the nature of the case, be referred to the Jews, and especially the members of the Sanhedrin. And yet, even if he did not give it utterance, there lived in the soul of Jesus through these hours of horror, an exceeding love even of those who hated him, and hated him because of his fidelity to God, which might well force a prayer for them to his lips; there lived an unshaken reverence for human nature which could not admit the possibility of a wanton crime committed with open eyes.[1]—Again, when the Jewish elders mocked him, and the soldiers, while offering him vinegar, followed their example, Luke makes him speak a second time. One of the two robbers, he says, had been reviling him and saying: "Are not you the Messiah? Well, then, rescue yourself and us!" but the other rebuked him and said: "Have you no fear of God, while undergoing the same punishment as this man? And we indeed rightly, for we are receiving what our deeds deserve, but he has done no wrong." Then he turned to the cross that stood between them and said: "Jesus think of me when you come with your kingdom!" upon which Jesus spoke the words of comfort: "Of a truth I tell you that this very day you shall be with me in paradise." Here again we are unable to accept the words as historical, partly because the two first Gospels leave no room for them, and because of their reference to the paradise in the under world,[2] but chiefly because they represent the malefactor as expecting Jesus to return to earth as the Messiah and to raise up and judge the dead. But for all that, the unshaken confidence in his own future, the desire to save the lost even now, and the lofty sense of conscious dignity which are here ascribed to Jesus, unquestionably reflect with perfect fidelity his tone of heart and mind even in these hours of horror.

Another exclamation is recorded by our oldest witnesses,

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 292 ff., 224. Compare Acts vii. 60 and Isaiah liii. 12.
[2] See above, pp. 40, 42.

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Matthew and Mark, as uttered from the cross. About three in the afternoon, it seems, when his life was fast ebbing, his suffering became for a moment more than he could bear, and at last he broke the lofty silence he had hitherto preserved by a piercing cry of pain that almost sounded like a cry of despair. The Evangelists accordingly, with the twenty-second Psalm still in their minds, interpret the cry by the opening words of that poem, "Eli, Eli! lama sabacthani?" "My God, my God! why hast thou forsaken me?" Now some of those who were standing by, the Evangelists go on to say, when they heard his cry, exclaimed in mockery, "Listen, he is calling for Elijah!" upon which one of them ran up and dipping a sponge into the vinegar put it on the end of a cane, reached it up to his lips to refresh him a little, and said, "Well, then, let us see whether Elijah will come and take him down." Or perhaps these latter words were spoken by some of the others who held their companion back, "Let it alone! we must see whether Elijah comes to take him down."—Now this supposed exclamation of Jesus has sometimes been interpreted very perversely, and has even given rise within the Church to such offensive doctrines as that Jesus lost his faith in himself and his cause, or that God did actually desert him because of the sins of mankind. But in any case it seems to us far more probable that these words of the Messianic passion-psalm were put into the mouth of Jesus by tradition than that he really uttered them. The sequel, too, throws great suspicion on the report; for the Jews were not allowed to approach the cross, and what did the Roman soldiers know about Elijah? Besides, if the Jews had really heard him cry Eli! or Eloi! they would hardly have mistaken the words of the twenty-second Psalm for a cry to the precursor of the Messianic kingdom, a mistake upon which their raillery is made to depend. We must, therefore, put aside these words, as in all probability un-

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historical; but, on the contrary, there is not the least reason to doubt the uniform tradition that a few moments before his death Jesus uttered a cry of pain, and that, as he was gasping almost in the death-throe, someone refreshed him by putting a sponge to his lips, dipped in the sour soldiers' drink—a mixture of vinegar, water, and eggs—a cruse of which would certainly be there for the use of the sentries.[1]

Only a few minutes afterwards, in the very death-struggle itself, followed a second cry, which Luke interprets, again at the suggestion of a passage in a psalm,[2] as his last prayer of trust, "Father! into thy hands I commend my spirit." Then his head sank upon his breast, a deadly pallor overspread his face, and all was over.

The struggle was at an end; the suffering was over. Comparatively speaking, it had not been long. Jesus certainly breathed his last before sunset, and apparently soon after three in the afternoon. He had, therefore, only been upon the cross six, or at most eight, hours. But all that he had already gone through, during the last few days and weeks, especially the evening, the night, and the morning that had just passed, together with the scourging and maltreatment he had undergone, and above all his intense mental suffering, had already almost completely exhausted his powers (as we saw on the way from the judgment hall) and his remaining strength fast ebbed away. It has sometimes been supposed that the great cry he uttered at the moment of his death was caused by sudden cessation of the action of the heart, the bursting of a blood vessel in the heart or brain, or the rupture of an artery. But all this is the merest guess-work.

For us, let us confess it, it is a great relief that his sufferings were not protracted. In the midst of all the mysteries

[1] Compare Luke xxiii. 36; John xix. 28, 29; Hebrews v. 7.
[2] Psalm xxxi. 5.

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which perplex the course of human events, there is something unspeakably dark and painful in such an end to such a life. But the darkness is not unrelieved by light. Proof against the fiercest trials, unflinching when called to the supremest sacrifice, unconditionally faithful to the lofty task of his life, obedient without reserve to the holy will of his Father, Jesus did in truth lay the foundations of the kingdom of God, though far otherwise than he conceived; he did in truth bind the world to him by eternal ties of deepest obligation, and make himself the Christ. The Apostolic age did well to emphasise the fact that God, when he would bring many sons to glory, that is to the realisation of their exalted and blessed destiny as men, had made the accomplisher of their salvation rise through suffering to a spotless moral perfection, and thereby also to the highest rank in the kingdom of heaven.[1] For Jesus himself made perfect, and mankind bound to him with eternal ties, even that cross on Golgotha is not too high a price!

It is but natural that the imagination of the Christians in every age, even the earliest, should have seized upon this scene of the Master's death upon the cross; and since the gross dishonour done to him outrages our sense of the fitness of things even now, after so many centuries, we can hardly wonder that Christian feeling early demanded some immediate compensation, some visible and instantaneous glorification of Jesus, to blot out at once the deep humiliation and shame of his execution. God's sacred protest at the murder of his son must have taken some concrete shape; the blessed fruits of the Lord's self-sacrifice, the glorious triumph of the rejected one over the hostile powers which seemed to have subdued him, must have found some visible expression; and all this must have appeared in forms so palpable and over-

[1] Hebrews ii. 10, v. 8, 9.

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whelming that the spectators returned from the hill with their hearts filled with reverence, while all who had been indifferent or hostile were covered with dismay and shame. Hence all those metaphors in our Gospels which became more than metaphors almost immediately; hence those fresh lines which were constantly added to the picture of the crucifixion to make the rehabilitation of the crucified more and more complete.

Even the oldest accounts we have mention two wonders. During the last hours of the life of Jesus, we are told, from noon till three o'clock, darkness came over all the earth. Perhaps the period indicated is intended to cover the whole time when Jesus was upon the cross. Now, since the Passover is always celebrated at full moon, an actual eclipse of the sun is of course out of the question; but the symbolical significance of the story is as clear as possible. Nature herself mourned for the murder of the Messiah. The sun refused to look upon the scene of horror, and concealed his splendour while the "Light of the World" was setting.—At the very moment, we are further told, when Jesus breathed his last, the heavily adorned and embroidered tapestry that hung as a curtain between the Holy and the Holy of Holies in the Temple was rent in two from top to bottom. Here also it would be absurd to look for an historic fact; but the thought at once suggests itself that at the death of Jesus the partition behind which the thrice Holy One withdrew from every eye in mysterious obscurity was taken away, and access to Him was made free to all;[1] while the priestly dignity was annulled, or rather made the portion of everyone, and the fear of the Lord was superseded by trustful communion with the Father.—In place of this, the Gospel of the Hebrews said that the broad and lofty threshold of the Temple was broken and fell to pieces; the significance may be the same as in

[1] Compare Hebrews ix. 7 ff., x. 19 ff.

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our Gospels, or it may perhaps mean that the temple service was annulled by the great sacrifice on Golgotha.—We are also told by our oldest authorities that when the officer who stood by the cross heard the great cry with which Jesus gave up his life, he exclaimed: "Surely this man was the son of God!" or, according to Luke: "Surely this was a righteous man!" Heathendom, face to face with the dying Christ, recognises in all his majesty him whom his own people have rejected.

But the same path must be pursued still further. Faith demanded still more and still greater wonders. The earth trembled, says a later account in Matthew. It shuddered with horror at the deed. The rocks were cleft, and the sepulchral caves gaped open, while many bodies of long-buried saints, pious men of the olden time, patriarchs and prophets, returned to life. And after the resurrection of Jesus they left their graves and went into the city of God, and appeared to many of the people there.—It was the foreshadowing of the resurrection at the last day. At the moment when Jesus by surrendering himself freely to the very death exalted himself to the dignity of the Messiah, he secured his triumph over the realm of shades which must ere long give up its prey at his commanding word. Here we may add that the second part of the Gospel of *Nicodemus*, which is twelve chapters long, contains a detailed description, purporting to come from two eye-witnesses, of how Jesus went down into the underworld whence he released all the saints, with Adam at their head, and conducted them to paradise.—Well might the officer and sentinels be filled with dread! Nay, Luke, even without mentioning the miracle of the earthquake or of the resurrection of the dead, may well say that all the people who had streamed together to witness the execution, when they had seen all that happened, went home and smote their breasts in deepest penitence and sense of guilt.

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Once more be it said, we sympathise intensely with the feeling that called these stories into being. But history has nothing to tell us of any restoration to honour taking place on Golgotha, of any special occurrence at the death of Jesus to reverse or mitigate his disgrace. His shameful end was, and continued to be, a fearful shock to his disciples, and made it simply impossible to many of the Jews and heathens to believe in him as the future Christ. There is no trace of his death having made any impression, at the time, upon the people of Jerusalem or the strangers, upon the Jews or the Romans, upon those who witnessed or those who compassed it.

On the other hand we have what appears to be a trustworthy account of the last honours paid by the hand of friendship to the mortal remains of Jesus.

The evening was already falling, and the sabbath would soon begin. Should the body be left hanging on the cross? It was the general rule amongst the Romans and the Greeks to deny burial to crucified offenders and leave them as a spoil to birds of prey and other creatures. But we have already seen that the rulers complied in many respects with the usages of the subject people; and the Jews, partly out of humanity, but chiefly to guard the country of the Lord from pollution,[1] never left anyone unburied, even though he had been hanged. Indeed, strictly speaking, no body should be left hanging on the wood even for a single night, as would have occurred in this instance, owing to the rapid death of Jesus, had not one of his friends undertaken the care of his burial.

It was not one of his chosen disciples, nor one of the faithful Galilæan women, who took courage for the last service of love. It was a man whom we meet for the first and

[1] Deuteronomy xxi. 23.

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last time on this occasion, and of whom we know nothing except his name, Joseph, and his birthplace, Arimathea or Ramathaim, in the ancient territory of Ephraim. We are told that he, too, had joined the disciples, though probably only during the stay of Jesus in Jerusalem; and, further, that he looked with longing for the Messianic kingdom. What a crushing sense of disappointment then must have accompanied this last sacred duty of friendship! Perhaps Joseph was acquainted with the procurator; at any rate, we are told that he was a rich man, and later accounts even make him one of the elders or distinguished laymen, who had a seat in the Sanhedrin; but they are careful to tell us he had taken no part in the hostile deliberations and violent measures of that body against the Nazarene. Be this as it may, no sooner had Joseph perceived or heard that the Master had breathed his last upon the instrument of torture than he asked and obtained an audience of Pilate, and begged the body of the crucified Jesus, in order that he might give it an honourable burial.

It was a bold step. How easily he might be suspected of siding with the "King of the Jews," who had been condemned as a tumult maker! And still worse, what hatred and ignominy from his own people and his own colleagues he was dragging down upon his head! But he could not let such thoughts restrain him. Jesus had inspired him with so deep a reverence that he could not suffer his mortal remains to be left hanging on the cross, and then, after a while, be thrust in shame into the earth. If he had been unable to rescue him, or if the sudden catastrophe has so taken him by surprise that he had not even attempted anything, he would at least do all that still remained.

The procurator granted his request (which was probably backed, according to the custom of the time, by a considerable sum of money), and gave him a written order to the

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officer at Golgotha, or else despatched a messenger with him. Mark, indeed, tells us that Pilate was astonished to hear that the Nazarene was dead already, that he sent for the officer in charge, and when he learnt from him that Jesus had been dead some time granted Joseph's request. But this seems highly improbable when we consider the short space of time in which the whole transaction was completed and the absolute necessity of the responsible man remaining on the spot at Golgotha, where the two robbers still hung alive upon the stakes.

Enough! Joseph went with a few dependents to the hill. The centre cross was loosened and laid upon the ground, the nails were drawn out, the cords cut through, and since Golgotha at that moment was an utterly unsuitable place in which to pay due honours to the dead, the body was immediately laid in the usual open coffin. The near approach of the sabbath would prevent all but a very few from following the coffin as it was borne to a place hard by, where Joseph possessed a sepulchre hewn out of the rock, or had obtained leave to use it on this occasion. The later tradition adds, in honour of Jesus, that it was a new sepulchre in which no one had as yet been laid.[1] Here reverent and careful hands cleansed the body from blood, wrapped the head in a napkin, and shrouded the limbs in broad strips of linen. If under any circumstances a body that had been so mangled would have been deemed suitable for embalmment, now at any rate there was no time for it. It was needless. All was done that friendship and reverence could do, for him whose death was mourned with such unutterable woe; and nothing essential was wanting to the last honours paid him.

So now the stiffly-shrouded corpse was carefully borne into the cave, and laid in one of the niches in the side. According to Jewish wont, the mouth of the sepulchre was closed by

[1] See p. 7.

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a great stone or mass of rock, which served as a door and protected the tomb from violation by beasts of prey. This stone would be left unmoved until another corpse, belonging to the possessor's family, should be brought there likewise to its place of rest. The mournful duty was now done, and in the deep affliction of his soul the bold and faithful friend turned homeward.

Meanwhile the evening had quite set in and the sabbath had begun. This was an hour, especially at Jerusalem, of joyous, consecrated rest. The sabbath lamp was lighted, the sabbath garments donned, and the sabbath meal prepared with more than usual sumptuousness in honour of the feast and the innumerable guests. As they reclined at table, the members of the council and many of the Pharisees besides might rehearse the day's events with a feeling of satisfaction and relief, and might thank the Lord for his mighty help and the unmistakable signs he had given them of his satisfaction with their zeal in his honour.

Outside there, by the sepulchre, all was still and cold and lonely, and yet not altogether deserted. The moonlight revealed two female forms, bent down in speechless agony, and the stillness of the night was only broken by their sobs. They were Mary of Magdala and her namesake, the faithful friends who had followed Jesus from Galilee. Had they accompanied the bier from the hill of death? Or had they not heard till later on what Joseph had been doing? There they sat now, over against that cave, and could not tear themselves away. What was not hidden there, behind that stone, for ever! What inestimable treasures destroyed by rude and wanton hands! What glorious promises dashed at once and for ever! . . .

And we, too, stand with them in thought, and as we gaze upon that stone and think of him who lies behind it,

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conceptions and emotions rush upon the brain and heart, and force the lips to utterance.—Rest sweetly from thy toilsome work, thou noble benefactor, deliverer of mankind, great son of God! Thy triumph is secure. Thy name shall be borne on the breath of the winds through all the world; and with that name no thought except of goodness, nobleness, and love, shall link itself in the bosoms of thy brothers who have learned to know thee and what thou art. Thy name shall be the symbol of salvation to the weak and wandering, of restoration to the fallen and the guilty, of hope to all who sink in comfortless despair. Thy name shall be the mighty cry of progress in freedom, in truth, in purity, the living symbol of the dignity of man, the epitome of all that is noble, lofty, and holy upon earth. To thy name shall be inseparably bound that ideal of humanity which thou didst bring into the world, and which can never be rejected from it more. Thy life was short, yet in it thou didst more than any one of all thy brethren to uplift the lives and souls of men. And now that thou art dead it shall be seen that they for whom thou didst give thyself up to the very death are not ungrateful. From thy cross goes forth a power which is slowly but surely regenerating the world. Thy spirit, which remains behind, shall fulfil thy task. The future is thine own. Thou great deliverer, thou monarch in the realm of truth, of love, of peace, we do thee homage!

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Book II.

THE APOSTLES.

Chapter I.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS.

Matthew XXVII. 62—XXVIII.; Luke XXIV. 13—53; Acts I. 3—14; 1 Corinthians XV. 3—8.[1]

So Jesus and his cause appeared to have been finally crushed. A single vigorous and well-concerted measure had smothered the Messianic agitation. The prophet of Galilee had paid, by a malefactor's death, for his audacity in coming to Jerusalem itself to preach his gospel and unfurl his banner of freedom and of the spirit, for his heroic effort to make God's kingdom come. Who was there left to take up his task? His best disciples and his closest friends were fugitives and apostates.

Yet hopeless as things seemed to be, the unshaken confidence with which Jesus had faced his lot was justified by the event. From his momentary defeat he rose again with wider and deeper influence than ever. Were there no danger of misunderstanding, we would gladly use an expression of his own,[2] and speak of this as his "rising again" or "resurrection." But this word is commonly used to signify something very different from his triumph after defeat. For when the faith of the Apostles and other disciples, recovering from the shock under which at first it had tottered and collapsed, appeared

[1] Mark xvi.; Luke xxiv. 1—12. [2] Compare Vol. V., pp. 420 f., 448.

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once more in renovated strength, it took the form of a belief that Jesus had risen up from the dead and ascended to heaven. This is what is generally meant by the "Resurrection;" and if we were to employ the word, it might seem as though we accepted this early belief as an historical fact.

Moreover, in saying that the belief in the "resurrection" was but the form assumed by the reviving faith of the disciples, we have explained our reasons for dealing with it in our Second Book, which treats of the Apostles, instead of including it in the history of Jesus himself as the last scene of his life on earth; for, amidst all the doubts that hang around this subject, of one thing at least we may be sure, viz., that it forms a chapter of the inner life of the disciples, not of the outward life of the Master. In other words, the resurrection of Jesus is not an external fact of history, but simply a form of belief assumed by the faith of his friends and earliest disciples.

Let us begin by considering what that word "resurrection" really meant, whether applied to Jesus or to others. Later representations, down to our own times, have regarded it as equivalent to a rising from the grave; but the question is, what it meant in the faith and preaching of the Apostles, in the genuine, original, primitive tradition that Jesus had risen. Now, "resurrection" means elsewhere a return from the realm of shades to the human life on earth,[1] and, in like manner, it was said that Jesus, too, had left the underworld, but not, in this case, to return at once to life upon the earth, but to be taken up provisionally into heaven. Originally the resurrection and ascension of Jesus were one. It was only later that the conception sprang up of his having paused upon earth, whether for a single day or for several weeks, on his journey from the abyss to the height.

[1] See, for instance, Revelation xx. 12—14; and compare Vol. V., pp. 70; VI. pp. 41, 42.

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We may, therefore, safely assert that, if the friends of Jesus had thought as we do of the lot of those that die,[1] they would never have so much as dreamt of their Master's resurrection or ascension. For to the Christian belief of to-day it would be, so to speak, a matter of course that Jesus, like all good and noble souls, and indeed above all others, would go straight "to a better world," "to heaven," "to God," at the instant of his death; but in the conception of the Jews, including the Apostles, this was impossible. Heaven was the abode of the Lord and his angels only, and if an Enoch or an Elijah had been caught up there alive, to dwell there for a time, it was certain that all who *died*, without exception, even the purest and most holy, must go down as shades into the realms of the dead in the bowels of the earth; and thence, of course, they could not issue except by "rising again." And this is why we are never told that Jesus rose "from death," far less "from the grave," but always "from the dead," that is, from the place where the shades of the departed abide, from the realms of the dead. The dead, when thus waked into life again, must have a body, whether it were a new one,[2] or whether the old one left the grave for him.[3] Now the Apostles could not accept or endure the thought that their Master was left in the abyss a powerless and lifeless shadow; they were convinced that he must be living in heaven in glory; and, moreover, they believed themselves to have evidence of his continued existence. The only possible conclusion, therefore, was that he had *risen* from the realm of shades.

All this is simple enough. Is it not equally clear that where there is no belief in this realm of shades a "resurrection" has no meaning? And if we have all ceased to

[1] Compare Vol. II., pp. 376—381; IV., pp. 77, 78; V., pp. 425 ff; VI., pp. 29 ff. [2] See Vol. V., p. 348. Compare 1 Corinthians xv. 50.
[3] See p. 131. Compare John v. 28, 29.

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believe in any such shadow-land, we are forced to admit that the narratives we are about to consider do not concern a fact in the life of Jesus, but a conception on the part of his friends, the origin of which we must, if possible, explain.

The contradictions in the narratives themselves, though so great as to lay insuperable difficulties in the way of a literal interpretation, no longer surprise us when we know that we are dealing with a product of the religious imagination, gradually amplified and embellished by tradition.

The following story indicates the way in which the disciples rose to the belief that their Master still lived, and would yet be the Christ: —

It was on the Sunday after the crucifixion that two of the disciples were going from Jerusalem to Emmaus, about two leagues distant, conversing on the way about all that had occurred. Now, while they were discussing their divergent views or doubts, they were joined by a third wayfarer. This was no other than Jesus himself, but they were so blinded that they did not know him. "What are you speaking about," he asked, "that makes you look so sad as you walk along?" "What are we speaking of?" repeated Cleopas, one of the two. "Then are you the only one amongst all the strangers in the Holy City that does not know what has happened there in these last days?"— "What about?" he asked.—"About Jesus of Nazareth," they replied. "He was a prophet, mighty in deed and word, in the eyes of God and of all the people; and our high priests and councillors gave him up to death and crucified him. But we had hoped that he was the promised deliverer of Israel. [And moreover this is the third day since it was done; and some of the women amongst us, who went in the early morning to his tomb, have filled us with consternation by declaring that they could not find his body there, and that they saw a

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vision of angels, who told them he was alive. Some of our number went straightway to the spot, and found it as the women had said, but him they did not see.]"—"How blind your eyes, how dull your hearts," cried Jesus, "to the predictions of the prophets! Was not this suffering the very path by which it was appointed for the Messiah to ascend his throne?" Then he went through the Law and the prophetic writings with them and showed them in the several books all that referred to him. Thus they drew near to Emmaus, and he made as if he would go on alone. But they would not let him go. "Stay with us," they urged, "for the evening is closing in already." So he yielded to their pressure, they went in, and in a few moments they were all reclining at the evening meal. Then Jesus, taking the place of the head of the family as usual, took the bread, uttered the thanksgiving, broke it, and handed it to them. In a moment the scales fell from their eyes, they looked at one another, they looked at him . . . they knew him, but at that very moment he vanished miraculously from their sight. Every doubt disappeared from their minds! "Did not our hearts burn within us," they said, "when he was speaking with us and explaining the Scriptures to us on the way?" They instantly rose up from the table and hurried back in the dark to Jerusalem. There the Eleven and the other disciples anticipated them by the exclamation: "The Lord has truly risen and appeared to Simon!" upon which the two related, in their turn, what had happened to them on the way, and how they had recognised Jesus as he broke the bread.

The source and origin of this beautiful picture are difficult to ascertain. Luke must have accepted it literally when he took it up into the cycle of his stories of the resurrection, to which it does not properly belong;[1] but this proves

[1] Compare Luke xxiv. 24 with *v.* 12, and *v.* 34 with *vv.* 37 and 41, &c., and see Mark xvi. 13*b*.

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nothing. Perhaps it was Luke, or perhaps some earlier narrator, who re-touched the picture with no great skill, and added such traits for instance as the visit of the women and the other disciples to the tomb, which we have included in square brackets. No such place as Emmaus has been found within two leagues of Jerusalem. There is an Emmaus (or Nicopolis) at a distance of six or seven leagues from the City of the Temple, but this cannot be the place intended. There is a bathing place of the same name on the sea of Gennezareth; and this tempts us to ask whether the scene was not originally laid in Galilee (which really witnessed the reviving faith of the disciples), and subsequently transferred to Jerusalem without change of names. Finally, we may note that Jesus appears in different places, to the two travellers and to Simon, at the same time. But in spite of all these traces of composite origin, the background and general outline of the picture still furnish us with precious materials for retracing the origin of the belief of the disciples in the resurrection; for we must never forget that a powerful imagination, supported by the symbolical forms of expression then current, might well translate reminiscences into present facts, suspense or other emotions into external events.

The friends of Jesus—so we read this story—were bitterly disappointed in their fairest hopes by the cross of Jesus. And yet they still regarded their Master as a mighty prophet, and their hearts and mouths still overflowed with him. And while they thought and spoke of him—at one in burning love, but often widely severed in opinions and expectations—Jesus himself came to them. Not the glorified Christ from heaven,[1] but the Jesus they had known on earth. They did not perceive or did not notice it; but he was there, drawn to their sides by the magic power of loving and reverent remembrance, he was with them, speaking to them, drawing out their thoughts,

[1] Matthew xviii. 20, xxviii. 20.

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and then correcting and instructing them; until at last, in the light of the event, they began to understand his teaching of the last few weeks,[1] so fruitless at the time. They saw how the Scripture pointed out, in many a special utterance and in the common lot of prophets, what the sad end must be, and how the temporal defeat would lead to victory and would win the Messianic crown. When rightly looked into, the Scripture was full of hints and predictions of the event.[2] How could they be so slow of heart! They would fain prolong those moments of his presence, hardly realised, in the life of reminiscence; they would not let him go! And then as they lay down to meat and broke the bread, that symbolic action on the last evening of the Master's life started back into their minds, the impression of that last meeting was renewed; they remembered all he told them, and above all that clear announcement of his death and of his triumph;[3] and then—the scales fell from their eyes, he was the Promised One once more! And now he is gone from their bodily sight, but henceforth nothing can disturb their faith. He is the Christ. He cannot be a prey to the realm of shades. He lives! He will come again!

Are we then to understand that the friends of Jesus had visions of their departed Master, which though really but the fruit and the expression of reviving faith, were looked upon by them as conclusive proof that he had left the underworld and was living still? We cannot be absolutely certain, but in all probability we must answer this question in the affirmative; for we have a statement on the subject that is free from all ambiguity, and is far more ancient and more trustworthy than the great mass of stories of the resurrection. It

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 418 ff., and VI., p. 64.
[2] Acts ii. 27, xiii. 34, 35; (Psalm xvi. 10; Isaiah lv. 3, liii. 10; Hosea vi. 2).
[3] See pp. 67, 81.

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is a passage in a letter written by Paul to the community at Corinth, in the year 58 A.D., in which he reminds them what he had told them a few years before, in accordance with what he himself had heard from eye-witnesses many years before, not long after the death of Jesus. It was "that Christ died for the forgiveness of our sins, according to the Scripture, and was buried, and was raised up the third day, according to the Scripture, and appeared to Cephas (Peter), and afterwards to the Twelve. Then he appeared to more than five hundred brethren at once, most of whom are still living, but some have fallen asleep. Then he appeared to James, and afterwards to all the Apostles, and last of all to me also."

Now on the assumption that it comes from the hand of Paul, this enumeration, which evidently aims at completeness, deserves our confidence; for Paul would certainly take care to inform himself accurately in such a matter. In speaking of the "resurrection" he does not mean the reanimation of the body of Jesus, and indeed he expressly excludes such a thought by ascribing to the Christ a glorified and spiritual body, not made of flesh and blood.[1] It is equally certain that he thinks of the Christ as having appeared *from heaven;* and his ranking the appearance to himself, unquestionably the product of his own fervid imagination,[2] as parallel with those which preceded it, seems to indicate that they were all visions alike. And indeed the return to earth of one already dead and glorified, or the veritable apparition of a spirit, is a thing which far transcends the limits of credibility. And besides we know that the Israelites, though well aware of the difference between a vision and something seen under ordinary conditions,[3] were yet firmly convinced that what

[1] 1 Corinthians xv. 42—54; 2 Corinthians v. 1—4; Philippians iii. 21.
[2] Compare 2 Corinthians xii. 1—4.
[3] See, for instance, Acts ix. 7, x. 10, 11, 17, 19.

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they saw in the ecstasy of a vision had an objective reality corresponding to it.[1] It may deserve our attention also that in this passage Paul first supports the faith in the resurrection of Jesus by an appeal to the Scripture,[2] and subsequently confirms it by a *reductio ad absurdum*.[3] In other words, he is more inclined to demonstrate that Christ must have risen than to build upon adequate testimony to fact that he had risen.

With regard to each of the separate appearances for which the Apostle vouches, we may note that even the one witnessed by five hundred believers offers no insuperable difficulty; for when we remember how infectious the excited condition favourable to visions sometimes is, it seems far from impossible that the whole of a numerous gathering of disciples might believe themselves to see the Master. History furnishes other instances, not less striking, of a number of people in a state of spiritual exaltation seeing one and the same image before their eyes. Nor need we wonder at the preservation of the expression, "the Twelve," though one, of course, was wanting. Who are meant by "all the Apostles" it is impossible to say. "James" is the brother of Jesus.

As to James, we may remark that the only other ancient authority which speaks of Jesus appearing to him is the Gospel according to the Hebrews. There it is said that when the risen Jesus had given his graveclothes to the high priest's servant, he showed himself to James, who had sworn after the last supper (at which he was not really present) that he would never eat bread again till he had seen Jesus, risen from the dead. So Jesus now brought him a cake of bread, offered thanks, broke it, and gave it to him with the words: "Eat this bread, my brother! for the Son of man has risen

[1] See 2 Kings vi. 17; 2 Corinthians xii. 3.
[2] 1 Corinthians xv. 4; compare Vol. V., pp. 46 f.
[3] 1 Corinthians xv. 12—19.

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from the dead."—The whole story is evidently a later invention, in honour of James, who was held in high esteem by the community at Jerusalem.

Returning to the statement in the Epistle to the Corinthians, we observe that Peter is mentioned as the first who saw the Master. Now of course the first appearance was the really critical event. It gave the impulse; and the rest were the natural consequence of the fervent longing of all the disciples to share the privilege of him who had already seen the glorified Master. It deserves our attention therefore that both here and in the story of the journey to Emmaus, Peter is mentioned before any of the others. Now Peter's fervid and excitable temperament,[1] acting upon his deep sense of the injury he had done to his beloved master, and his longing to receive assurance of forgiveness, might well throw him into just such a state of exaltation[2] as might make him see the form he loved rise up before him, with an expression of exalted tenderness and generous forgiveness, as a mighty incentive and a glorious consolation.[3]

But it ought to be mentioned that, according to another tradition, preserved in our Gospels, it was not Peter but the faithful friends who had seen Jesus die—the two Marys, whom we left in speechless agony at the sepulchre—to whom the first assurance was vouchsafed that their master had arisen. It was an angel, or Jesus himself, that brought the proclamation to them, with or without their companion, Salome, and told them to carry the great news to the disciples and especially to Peter. In itself this account is at least as credible as the other. The tried attachment and touching fidelity of these women to Jesus, working upon the more sensitive female system, would make them eminently suscep-

[1] Compare Vol. V., p. 231. [2] Compare Acts x. 10.

[3] See Luke xxii. 31, 32, compare *v.* 61; John xxi. 15—17; and Matthew xiv. 30, 31.

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tible of such impressions as we are discussing; and it seems more probable that tradition would gradually substitute Peter for the women than that they should have usurped his place. In fact we find the women, in this version of the events, specially charged to take the glad news to Peter,[1] and may fancy that we see therein the first indication of a feeling that gradually gave the place of honour to the Apostle to the exclusion of the women. On the other hand, great doubt is thrown upon the whole picture of the women and their vision by its unhistorical setting, representing Jerusalem as the locality, the Sunday morning as the time, and the empty tomb as the scene of the vision; whereas, as we shall presently see, all these three traits are of much later origin.

Paul's statement is irreconcilable with the tradition preserved in the Gospels in other points besides the question of priority between Peter and the Marys. We will therefore simply give the Gospel tradition now, without further reference to Paul's statement, and without venturing at present to pronounce decisively in favour of the latter as compared with the primitive nucleus of the former. The later traditions in the Gospels have little value.

Of course it needs the utmost circumspection to separate this primitive tradition from the various accretions of later date; but a careful comparison of the texts generally leads us to a definite conclusion. The impression we arrive at is that the first and perhaps the only appearance of the Christ took place in Galilee a good many days after the death of Jesus. The Eleven, once more in their native land, had met together upon one of the well-known mountains, and there they saw the glorified Master. But not all of them. Some of them still doubted, still distrusted themselves or the others who

[1] Mark xvi. 7; compare John xx. 2–6.

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bowed down in transport and did reverence to him, as he appeared to them on high.

We see at once how much there is to commend this narrative to our acceptance. It can hardly be doubted that immediately after the Master's death, if not as soon as he was taken prisoner, the disciples fled in haste from the hostile orthodoxy of Jerusalem to their own native land.[1] It was only here that they took breath and came to themselves again. It was here where they had gone in and out with him unceasingly, where every footpath and every hill top, the fertile shores of the lake and the desolate wilderness, were alike enriched with treasured reminiscences of his wondrous and impressive preaching, of his private instruction never more to be forgotten, and his confidential intercourse with his chosen ones; it was here where the fair days gone by, and the noble yet winning personality which shone through all their memories, rose up so vividly before their minds; it was here that they felt the conviction gradually, not suddenly, sink deep into their souls that it was impossible he had deceived himself and them, impossible that God had suffered him to fail. Had he not himself foreseen the end before it came, yet without losing either faith or hope? And at the thought their faith and hope revived.—Perhaps if we had been told that they saw him on the Sunday morning after his death, for instance, we might feel that the time was too short to allow all these influences to have their full effect. But this is not what we are told. The very fact that it was in Galilee they saw him is itself a proof that ample time intervened to admit of the power of recollection bringing them completely under the Master's influence again. The uniform tradition as to the third day refers to the time of his leaving the realms of death for heaven, not to that of his appearance to his friends. It is perhaps an inference from Scripture, and

[1] See pp. 82, 83; and Matthew xxvi. 32, xxviii. 7; (Mark xiv. 28, xvi. 7).

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perhaps grew out of an expression used by Jesus himself, but in either case it is probably due to the misunderstanding of a proverbial expression.[1]

For the rest, it is hardly necessary, after all that we have said, to point out that when once the faith of the disciples was restored it must necessarily take the form of the belief in the Master's resurrection or glorified existence; and that it is, to say the least of it, exceedingly comprehensible that some of them in a state of transport should have seen him. That some of them were in doubt and were only subsequently swept down the stream of general conviction appears to us a genuine historical trait; and it never quite disappears from the later stories.[2] Finally, we may observe that the provisional assumption of Jesus into heaven, where he would at once receive from God the office of Messiah, in anticipation of his return to earth, was needed to satisfy the demand of the disciples for their master's complete restoration from the shame of his death upon the cross.[3]

Their joyful certainty that Jesus was now exalted to his kingly rank found utterance in the words which they put into his mouth; first the declaration, "To me is given all power in heaven and upon earth;" then the command, "Go forth to make all peoples my disciples, baptising them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit;" and finally the promise, "Lo, I am with you in your labour, day by day, till I return to crown you." A later tradition, preserved in the spurious conclusion of Mark,[4] represents Jesus as appearing to the disciples when assembled in a certain chamber, and uttering these three sayings in the following form: "Go out into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature. And whoever believes and is baptised

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 352, 420; Hosea vi. 2; Matthew xii. 40, &c.
[2] Mark xvi. 11, 13, 14; Luke xxiv. 11, 37, 41; John xx. 27.
[3] Acts ii. 36. [4] Mark xvi. 9—20.

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(that is to say, openly avows his faith) shall be saved, but whoever believes not shall be condemned, at the Messianic judgment. And miraculous powers shall always wait on faith, such as the power to cast out devils in my name, to speak in fresh tongues, to take serpents in the hand, to drink poison without being hurt, to lay hands on the sick and heal them."—The primitive symbolical significance of this promise still shines through the words,[1] but here they are taken literally after the manner of the Apocryphal Gospels.[2]

The command about baptism has gained such importance as to justify a moment's delay to consider it. That Jesus never directly enjoined the Twelve to call the heathen to a share in the privileges of the golden age is above all doubt;[3] and this saying must therefore be of comparatively late origin, dating from a period at which the mission to the heathen was not only fully recognised, but even declared to have originated with the Twelve. A moment's reflection makes it obvious that Jesus himself instituted no such ceremony as baptism to incorporate converted Jews and heathens into a community of future members of the kingdom of God, and if further evidence be wanted it is supplied by Paul.[4] On the other hand the rise of such a practice in the community, perhaps at a very early period, is perfectly natural; and so, too, the much later custom of baptising the infant children of Christians, though not even remotely contemplated in the injunction we are now considering, is easy to understand, and enlists our perfect sympathy. Baptism into the name of God the Father, Jesus Christ the son of God, and the Holy Spirit, means baptism into the confession of or faith in these three, and is a short epitome of Christian doctrine of

[1] See Luke x. 19.
[2] Acts v. 16, viii. 7, xvi. 18, ii. 4, x. 46, xix. 6, xxviii. 5, 8.
[3] See Vol. V., pp. 375, 376; Galatians ii. 7—9; Acts x. xi.
[4] 1 Corinthians i. 17.

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which Jesus certainly never dreamt; nay, it is obvious from all accounts that even in the Apostolic age it was as yet quite unknown;[1] and the still later age which drew up the words by no means intended them as a baptismal formula, but rather as a statement of the conditions of admission into the community. In making the utterance of these words instead of the imposition of these conditions the first act of admission into the community of Christ, the Church has confounded words with things. In a word, the phenomenon we are now considering is compounded of a remarkable perversion of a biblical phrase, and an expression of the religious sense of Christendom which is equally simple and deserving of respect.

In general we may be pretty sure that the oldest tradition, whether preserved in the Epistle to the Corinthians or in Matthew, knew nothing of any words pronounced by the risen Christ when he appeared. All these belong to the later transformations of the story, and form but one of many deviations and accretions. In fact the original story is gradually disguised past all recognition. The appearances of Jesus are transferred to Jerusalem, obviously with the view of making the scene of the Messiah's defeat that of his restoration and triumph also; they are placed upon the third day, as taking place while Jesus passed on high from the shadow-land; they are robbed of their true character and become more and more material, after the general manner of legends. A variety of special occasions, circumstances, and sayings, were from time to time added, unconsciously or by design, till the whole was expanded into a second life upon earth of several weeks' duration. Setting the two or three divergent accounts side by side as we go along, let us listen to the story!

[1] Acts ii. 38, viii. 16, x. 48, xix. 5; Romans vi. 3; 1 Corinthians i. 13, 15; Galatians iii. 27.

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The compulsory rest of the sabbath was over. Before the Saturday night was gone (or early on Sunday morning), the two Marys (with or without Salome, or Salome and Johanna and others) went through one of the city gates to visit the tomb, to sit once more[1] in mournful contemplation by the cave in which so much that was dear to them lay buried, or to bear the corpse from its resting place and embalm it with spices and balsam that they had bought as soon as ever the sabbath closed (or had provided just before it began). If they cherished such a purpose as this they remembered anxiously upon the way that they had no one with them who could roll away the heavy stone that stood at the entrance of the cave. But their anxiety was groundless, for when they looked they found that the stone was moved away already. Then they went in, and there to the right they saw a young man sitting in a long white robe (or two men in shining garments) who said to them, in their bewilderment and terror, "Be not afraid! You seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. He is not here. He has risen. Come and see the place where they laid him! Now make all speed and go to his disciples, and above all to Peter, and tell them that he will go before you to Galilee, where you will see him, as he told you." In one of the accounts the words are expanded thus: "Why look for the living amongst the dead? Remember how, when he was still in Galilee, he told you that the Son of man must be given up into the power of the heathen and be crucified, and must rise again on the third day." Then, it is added, they remembered the words that he had spoken.—Here Galilee, as the appointed place of meeting, has dropped out.

With their feet winged with terror, but also with great joy, they hurried from the cave to take the news to the disciples (or according to another account they were too

See p. 135.

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much overcome to say a word to anyone; or, according to a third, they told it all to the Apostles and the other disciples, who only thought it an idle tale). And Peter ran to the sepulchre, and, stooping down, saw the shrouding clothes lying there, and went home full of amazement.

It is quite superfluous to analyse this story, the improbabilities of which we can see growing as it were before our very eyes. Compare, for instance, the simple visit to the tomb recorded by Matthew, with the impossible embalming of a mutilated corpse six-and-thirty hours after death, suggested by Mark and Luke.[1] Only a single word about the empty grave. This trait undoubtedly belongs to the later tradition. But it has been asked: When the Apostles had seen Christ, would they not go to Jerusalem to make sure whether the Master had really left his grave? Not at all. It would never occur to them. The appearance of Christ would itself fill them with a joyful certainty. And such an examination of the sepulchre would be revolting to all the feelings of the age, to say nothing of the fact that the body would no longer be capable of recognition. And above all their belief in the resurrection of Jesus, like the belief of Paul subsequently, stood in no immediate connection with the condition of his mortal body. So too when Herod feared that John had risen again, he never dreamt of ordering a search to ascertain whether the head and body of his victim were still lying where they had been buried. The legend of the empty grave rose up either to confute those who denied the resurrection of Jesus by a palpable proof,[2] or else under the influence of the section of Jewish Christians who thought that at the resurrection the bodies in the graves would come to life again;[3] in either case it is one of the indications of the increasingly material conception gradually formed of the resurrection.

[1] See p. 134. [2] See pp. 159, 160.

[3] See Matthew xxii. 28, xxvii. 52, 64; John v. 28, 29.

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It was subsequently said that the two Marys, as they hastened from the grave to bear the angels' message to the disciples, met Jesus, who greeted them, and when they fell down and embraced his feet said to them: "Be not afraid; go and tell it to my brothers (the Apostles), that they may go to Galilee. There they will see me!"—This story evidently forms a transition. The real revelation upon which the stress is laid still takes place in Galilee; but here, for the first time, a preliminary revelation is vouchsafed in Jerusalem, and that apparently between the resurrection and the ascension. Such, at any rate, is the intention of the following story, of still later origin and of very obvious purport:—

The disciples were together, speaking of their faith and doubt, their hope and fear, when suddenly Jesus himself stood amongst them, with a greeting of peace upon his lips. They were in terror and alarm, thinking they saw a ghost; but he said: "Why are you dismayed and why are you in doubt? Look at my hands and feet, for it is I myself. Touch me and see, for a spirit has no flesh and bones, as you can see I have." And now they could not believe it for joy and were still lost in wonder; but he said: "Have you nothing to eat here?" upon which they gave him some broiled fish and a piece of honeycomb, which he ate before their eyes.

Then he said: "So now all that I told you before we were parted has come to pass, namely, that everything written concerning me in the Law and the Prophets and Psalms must be fulfilled." Then he made them understand the true meaning of the Scripture, and said: "Thus it is written that the Christ must suffer, and rise from the dead on the third day; and that in the proclamation of his exaltation and return, repentance and the forgiveness of sins must be preached to all peoples, beginning with Jerusalem. And this preaching is your task. And behold I make the gift

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which my Father promised come down upon you. Do you then remain in the city till you are girt with power from above."

Then he led them out to the road to Bethany. There he raised his hands and blessed them, and, as he blessed them, he passed away and was taken up into heaven. Then they bowed down to earth, and returned to Jerusalem, filled with joy that he was glorified, and there they remained continually in the Temple, praising and blessing God.

The meaning of this story may be gathered from the closing scene. It represents Jesus as appearing to his friends when passing from the shadow-land to the abode of God. We must therefore place it on the third day, the Sunday; and probably in the morning, not long after the resurrection; for the interview itself, including the explanation of the Scripture, would occupy some hours, and it must have been over before evening, since the Evangelist can hardly intend to represent the Master as leading out his disciples and himself going up on high in the darkness of the night. We make this remark because, when we read the last chapter of Luke straight through, the insertion of the story of the travellers to Emmaus makes it appear as if all these events took place in the depth of night. In other respects, the second part of our story is not without value; but the introduction with its wounds in the hands and feet, its flesh and bone, its fish and honeycomb, is an attempt to give a palpable and grossly material proof of the resurrection of Jesus. Thus the original conception is obliterated; everything that could remind us of a vision has disappeared, and there is not a trace of the supersensual character which would naturally have marked all intercourse with a glorified one.

Presently the round number of forty days was fixed upon as the period during which the risen Master remained on earth, so as to allow for all the appearances mentioned by

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tradition taking place before the ascension. During this period it is expressly said that he ate and drank with his friends! We are further told in the Acts that during these days he gave his disciples absolute proof of his continued existence, and spoke to them about the kingdom of God. He told them not to leave Jerusalem, but to wait there for what God had promised them by his mouth; for in contrast with John's baptism of water they should soon receive the baptism of the spirit. The disciples asked, "Master! Has the time now come for you to restore to Israel its independence, power, and glory, such as it had in the age of David and Solomon?"—"It is not given you to know the time and opportunity which the Father has reserved to himself," was the reply, "but you shall be strengthened when the Holy Spirit comes upon you, and shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and all Judæa and Samaria, even to the ends of the earth." While he thus spoke he was taken up on high before their eyes, and a cloud enveloped him and carried him away out of their sight. As they were still gazing into heaven where he disappeared, two figures robed in white stood by them and said: "Ye men of Galilee, why stand and gaze into the heavens! This Jesus, who has been taken up from you on high, shall come back in the same manner as ye have seen him go."—Then the Eleven went back from the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem, and remained in their upper chamber, of one mind with each other, persevering in prayer, together with certain women and the mother and brothers of Jesus.

This isolated and very late tradition is out of harmony with all the earliest accounts, which have nothing to tell us of a separate ascension; nor does it agree with the narrative in Luke, the only other passage in which the ascension is spoken of. It is on the strength of this tradition that the Church observes the Thursday, forty (thirty-nine) days after Easter Sunday, as Ascension Day, but it does not appear

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that this tradition was commonly accepted in the second century, for in the Epistle of Barnabas[1] we read:—"We (Christians) celebrate (not the seventh day as the Jews do, but) the eighth (that is the first) day with thankful joy, as the day on which Jesus rose from the regions of the dead, revealed himself to his friends, and ascended to heaven."

The importance of the subject has induced us to go in some detail into all these later and utterly unhistorical elaborations and perversions of the Apostolic faith in the resurrection; and we have therefore fallen into some danger of losing sight of the real religious meaning and the original significance of that faith itself. We must therefore once more call to mind that under the conceptions of the universe and the religious doctrines current at the time, this idea of Jesus rising out of the realm of shades was the necessary form, and nothing but the form, under which the Apostles expressed their moral certainty that their Master lived and had been exalted. It was this certainty itself, which is ours as much as it was theirs, that forms the essence and the glory of their faith. Above all, we must never forget what a triumph won by Jesus over the prejudices of his disciples' hearts this belief represented. It shows that he had so impressed them with his unequalled moral greatness and glory as to make them say, "Though dead he cannot be a lifeless shade; he must still live, although alone of all that ever died; the realm of shades cannot retain him captive, and until the time shall come for him to mount his throne on earth he must abide in heaven."—Nay, think! he died as a malefactor, as a disgrace to humanity, renounced by God and man. His disciples' fairest hopes were annihilated; and they must throw away their faith in him. . . . .

[1] See Vol. V., p. 28.

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And yet they *could* not! Hardly had they recovered from the first bewilderment of that crushing blow when they felt, and knew, that they *could* not have been deceived in him; that he *must* be the Lord of the Messianic kingdom, the hope of all the faithful, the blessed dispenser of God's most glorious gifts; for he *could* be no less! For the shame of the cross God had amply compensated him with the glory of heaven, and what the unbelief of his nation had hitherto prevented him from doing and being, he would ere long accomplish and make plain; for by him and by no other must the golden age most surely come.—Nay, so mighty was his influence, even after his death, that in moments of holy transport his disciples even saw him. Truly, if we may argue from the effect to the cause, from the impression Jesus made to his own personality, we are filled with wondering reverence and admiration to think what he must have been! How much higher the tribute we pay to Jesus by thus explaining the belief in his resurrection, than by wasting our strength in the hopeless effort to prop up the belief that his body came back to life and left its grave on the third day! Were it only at the price of such a miracle that his disciples could regain their faith, our lofty estimate of his power over them, of his moral influence and his moral force, of the personality from which they issued, would lose one of its great supports.

Here then at the close we may speak, as we could not speak at first, of the "resurrection" of Jesus, using the word as he himself employed it to signify his triumph. There is still one story of the resurrection which we have not given yet, and which stands in no connection with the rest. In its present form it is a very late tradition, but yet it strikes us as setting forth in emblematic guise the triumph of Jesus over the very powers which had trampled him in the dust. Let us listen to it.

Hardly had the Saturday morning broken when a nume-

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rous deputation of high priests and Pharisees again begged audience of the procurator. What makes them so restlessly uneasy? Have they not just averted the dangers which were threatening their religion and their people? Have they not established their own influence and authority more firmly than ever? Is not their enemy crushed for ever?—The evening before their hearts were light, and they held their feast in joyful triumph. But dread forebodings rose once more at night and banished sleep—forebodings that some way, they knew not how, the Nazarene would hold his own against them yet. But counsel comes by night; and they soon decided what to do. And this was why the early morning found them at the palace of the Roman. They were at once admitted, and explained their fear and their request as follows:—"Will it please you, we have remembered that this deceiver, when he was alive, said: After three days I shall rise again. Give orders, then, that the grave be guarded for three days, or may be his disciples will come and steal him away, and then say to the people: He is risen from the dead. And then the last deceit would be worse than the first."

With unhesitating alacrity Pilate granted the request. "A sufficient watch is at your service. Guard the grave as securely as you may." They thanked him and retired. Then they hastened to their work. They placed a strip of linen across the stone at the entrance of the tomb, and secured it at both ends with clay bearing the impress of their seal. Surely no one would dare to break it! Then they left the watch with strict injunctions to vigilance—injunctions which relieved their own minds, though the admirable discipline of the Roman system rendered them quite superfluous. Surely they might now be perfectly at rest! . . .

The first pale gleam of the third morning was breaking from the east. The guards were standing at the entrance of

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the cave. When suddenly the earth began to rock and tremble. Is that a flash of lightning shooting down from heaven? Ah, no! It is an angel of the Lord, whose appearance shines like the fire of heaven, and whose garments glitter like snow. With a touch of his finger he rolls back the stone from the mouth of the tomb and seats himself upon it as his throne. There is the seal, all broken! There are the sentries, motionless and powerless in their terror, paralysed with apprehension, without power of speech or thought, gazing with ashy faces on the apparition! No sooner had they recovered the use of their limbs than they fled for their very lives to Jerusalem to those who had given them their charge. The Sanhedrin assembled in utter consternation. The case seemed hopeless, but these high priests and elders were never at a loss. They gave the soldiers a great sum of money and said: "Spread it about that his disciples came and stole him away while you were asleep. Should the procurator hear about it, we will find means of appeasing him, and you need have no fear." The soldiers took the money and repeated their lesson to everyone they could get hold of. And that is the origin of the lying story of the theft.

Was such a foolish report really circulated amongst the Jews? In any case this story, which is worked out elaborately in the Gospel of Nicodemus, is quite absurd. Is it likely that the enemies of Jesus would have heard a prophecy of his rising again when his very friends never dreamt of it for a moment, and when he had never once spoken of his "resurrection" in public? Is not the conduct here ascribed to the councillors and the soldiers, the latter of whom would have needlessly exposed themselves to the heaviest punishment, so clumsy and childish as to be impossible? But once set aside these difficulties and accept the picture as emblematic, and how fine and true its strokes appear! The powers of church and state have combined

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against the Nazarene and brought him to his fall. On the one side the high priests and Pharisees defending the Law, the Temple, and, last not least, their own authority and influence, against the sacrilegious blows of this seducer of the people; on the other side the procurator, who cherishes no personal hostility to him, but overcomes his own indifferent toleration, and sacrifices the Nazarene in the interests of order. The new religious movement is crushed for ever by this combination. Both church and state combine to keep it down. They take measures which cannot fail. The one puts its seal upon the stone; the other sets its watch before the grave.—In vain! As by the finger of God the seal is broken and the watch is smitten down. Jesus stands up! Though hurled to the ground, he rises again; his momentary defeat was but a step to his abiding triumph. The alliance of ecclesiastical and civil authorities is powerless against the truth, against the kingdom of God, against the Christ. The triumph is his.

In the following pages we shall trace the history of this triumph in the establishment of the Apostolic community and the preaching of the gospel to the heathen. This triumph has its witnesses in every age, in our age, in our hearts, whenever the principles of Jesus vanquish the obstinate resistance of routine and prejudice, of impurity and selfishness; whenever his ideal conquers the commonplace reality. Of this triumph every Easter that Christians observe is the grateful record and the joyful promise.

In this, the truest sense, "Christ is arisen" indeed!

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Chapter II.

THE COMMUNITY AT JERUSALEM.

Acts I. 15—V., XII. 1—23.[1]

A VEIL of obscurity hangs over the short period which separates the death of Jesus from the work of Paul. Only two facts shine through it. Of the first we have already spoken, and its significance will become still clearer presently. It is, that the followers of Jesus regained their faith in his Messianic dignity; which faith took the form of a belief that he had risen from the regions of the dead, and had been exalted to heaven, whence he would soon return. The second fact, which now demands our attention, is that a community of believers was formed at Jerusalem, and had its branches in other parts of the Holy Land. But, with regard to this matter, our curiosity is rather excited than satisfied; for the accounts we possess are very meagre, and at the same time far from trustworthy; and since we have no means of controlling them, we must use all the greater caution in accepting what they tell us. Not only is the length of the period in question unknown, not only are we left completely in the dark as to many details, but even the great facts and the general course of events are far from clear. We are, therefore, driven to suppositions which we cannot really substantiate, and of which we must consequently be very sparing.

The first question that forces itself upon us is: How came the disciples of Jesus to establish themselves at Jerusalem? It is true that we need not suppose any collective emigration on a large scale to have taken place; but nevertheless it is true that at a certain period, not long after the Master's death, a certain number of disciples, whose example

[1] Matthew xxvii. 3—10.

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was soon followed by others, felt it their duty to leave their beloved and entrancing country, their nearest relations and their several callings, and go and settle in the hostile capital. Unquestionably this movement was made with a view to the establishment of the kingdom of God at the approaching return of the Christ. "The city of the Lord" was the natural centre of the glories of this future age, and moreover Jesus himself had made it the scene of his last labours, and of that sublime effort frustrated alas! by the unbelief of the people.[1] But a step that required such courage and involved such sacrifices[2] as the removal to Jerusalem did would hardly be undertaken except on some definite occasion and with some definite object. As to the occasion we cannot find even a hint in the book of Acts, which never lets the Apostles return to Galilee at all.[3] Their object was probably something more than to wait at Jerusalem in longing for the Messiah; it was to prepare for and, if possible, hasten his return by taking up his work, by preaching the kingdom of God to Israel in a city which might well be deemed the nation's heart.

We find the number of the disciples given as about one hundred and twenty souls, but this figure raises our suspicion by being just ten times the number of the tribes and of the Apostles, and it is rendered still more doubtful by the fact that we have already heard of five hundred brethren in the Epistle to the Corinthians. The statement that the mother and brothers of Jesus were amongst the believers approves itself more readily to our acceptance, for the Epistle just referred to mentions that the Christ appeared to James, who was probably the head of the family. It would be extremely interesting to know when and how their disbelief was overcome;[4]

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 417, 418.
[2] See Vol. V., pp. 442, 423, 239 ff. [3] See p. 156.
[4] Compare Vol. V., pp. 303—309.

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for we must take the vision not as the cause but as the result of James's faith. But our search for further light on this point is fruitless.

The first step which the band of disciples took, before the outside world knew anything of its existence, is said to have been the selection of an Apostle to take the place of Judas. Of course the traitor had lost his place amongst the Twelve for ever; but beyond that we are told that the divine vengeance had already fallen upon him. Various traditions were current on this point. In the first place we hear that within a few hours of the consummation of his crime, when he saw his master condemned to death by the Sanhedrin and handed over to the Roman governor, he came to himself. He saw—too late, alas!—the enormity of his crime, and could think of nothing but returning to the Sanhedrin—as if that would avail!—and giving them back the thirty shekels, the price of blood, which burned in his hands. "I have sinned," he cried, "in giving up an innocent man to death!"—But they would not take the money back; and answered dryly, "that is your affair, not ours!"—Then the wretched man fell a prey to despair. He rushed into the Temple, flung the coins upon the floor, went out—and hanged himself. The high priests, as scrupulous as ever, considered what they could do with the money. As the price of blood, it could not be thrown into the treasury.[1] Finally they determined to purchase the Potter's Field with it, and make it a burial place for strangers. Hence the name Hakeldama or *Blood-acre* was given to this field, which lay south of Sion, in the valley of Hinnom.[2]

Another legend, embodied in the account of the selection of a new Apostle, brings this same burial ground into connection with Judas in an equally arbitrary, though quite a different manner. According to this version he had bought

[1] See p. 49. [2] See Map IV.

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a piece of land for the price of his treachery, and had subsequently come to a miserable end there, though not by his own hand. He had fallen down, his bowels had burst asunder, and his blood, that streamed over his newly-acquired possession, gave it the name it subsequently bore.—A third tradition, not contained in the Bible, told how the wretched man was tortured by a fearful dropsy, how his body swelled until at last a cart could easily pass through a space too narrow for him to go through, and how, after nameless agonies, he died, stock blind, whether crushed by a cart or a loathsome victim of disease.

We feel at once that these stories are without historical foundation, though, for the honour of humanity, we would willingly accept as true the account of Judas's repentance. The general purport of the stories is determined by the Jewish belief in retribution, while the details are furnished by misapplied passages of the Old Testament:—the story of Ahithophel, who betrayed David;[1] the prophecies of the earliest Zechariah[2] (not Jeremiah, as the first Evangelist says);[3] and above all the cursing psalms, one of which speaks of a snare, a deserted inheritance, and darkened eyes;[4] another of an early death, deposition from a post of honour, and a curse that penetrates like water into the enemy's bowels.[5] As a matter of fact we are wholly ignorant as to what befel Judas.

Let us return then to the faithful disciples at Jerusalem. We are told that Peter stood up one day amongst the brethren, who were about a hundred and twenty in number, and after showing that the Scripture foretold the fearful fate of the betrayer, and that another should take his place, urged the appointment of a successor. The choice must fall on one

[1] See Vol. III., p. 64. [2] See pp. 70, 71. [3] Matthew xxvii. 9.
[4] Psalm lxix. 22; (Matthew xxvii. 5), 25; (Acts i. 18—20), 23.
[5] Psalm cix. 8, 18.

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who, with the Twelve, had been a faithful and steadfast follower of Jesus from the baptism of John to the ascension of the Master; one who might join the elder Apostles in bearing testimony to the resurrection of Jesus. Then the assembly selected two of its members who fully complied with all the conditions laid down, and whose spirit and power fitted them for so sublime a task. They were Joseph, the son of Sabbas, surnamed "the just," and Matthias. The choice between these two they determined to leave to the Omniscient, and so had recourse to lots. After offering a prayer to God, the knower of hearts, that he would show them whom he had chosen to take the place of the castaway, they drew a lot for each of the two, and the result was that Matthias was received into the Apostolic circle.

The Apostolate is here represented as a definite office of superintendence conferred upon a certain number of men, who form a close college, and are the only qualified witnesses to the resurrection of Jesus; and this may well lead us to suspect that the whole story is invented,[1] with the specific purpose of showing that there was no vacancy for Paul in the college, and that moreover he was entirely incompetent and unsuited for the post of an Apostle, inasmuch as he had not been a follower of Jesus during his public ministry. If this is really what the story means, then the writer of Acts must have simply accepted the tradition without understanding its drift. In itself, however, apart from the legend of Judas and the citation of texts connected with it, apart from the whole discourse of Peter, the fictitious character of which is palpable at the first glance,[2] apart, in a word, from all the accessories, it is not impossible that the number of twelve was again completed by the choice of Matthias; and a certain amount of probability is given to the supposition by the fact that the first Epistle to the Corinthians[3] and the book

[1] See Vol. V, p. 230. [2] Acts i. 18, 19. [3] 1 Corinthians xv. 5.

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of Revelation both speak[1] of "the Twelve," notwithstanding that Judas had fallen away. This measure, if really taken, displays a scrupulous anxiety to keep in harmony with the number of the tribes, and evinces the Jewish narrowness, which regarded the blessings of the kingdom of God as reserved exclusively for Israel; but it also shows a settled determination, which earns our admiration by the courage and fidelity it reveals, of standing up before the people of the Lord, without loss of time, as witnesses to the Messiah, who was now exalted in heaven and would soon return in his glory.

When and how did the Apostles begin their preaching of Jesus, the Messiah, and of his kingdom?—The following story is given us in answer:—

The day of Pentecost, the harvest thanksgiving of the Jews, had come. The disciples were together in their usual place of assembly, in the morning, when suddenly a sound was heard from heaven, as of a mighty rushing wind, and all the house re-echoed, while at the same time they saw tongues, as if of fire, which split up and came down upon each of them. At the same moment that which the wind and fire did but represent as symbols came itself to pass. The Holy Spirit came down upon them; and for a time they were utterly carried away by it, and, as indicated by those forms upon their heads, began to speak with other tongues, according as the spirit gave them utterance.

This miracle made a deep impression. Crowds of Jews were collected to the spot, and amongst them were foreigners from all the nations upon the earth, whose zeal had brought them away from their heathen birthplaces, to settle in the City of the Temple. Picture their amazement when each one of them (fifteen nations are enumerated) recognised his

[1] Revelation xxi. 14.

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own native language in the rapturous utterances of these men. They asked in consternation, "Are not all the speakers men of Galilee? Then how comes it that each one of us hears them rehearse God's mighty deeds in his own native language?"—But while some were lost in amazement and perplexity, wondering what this could mean, others mocked the inspiration of the disciples and said: "They are full of sweet wine!"

Did these reckless taunts reach the disciples and bring them to themselves? At any rate they rose; and Peter, as their head and representative, solemnly began his first discourse, amid perfect silence. They were not drunk, he exclaimed, for who would drink before nine o'clock, the hour of morning prayer? But this that they had seen was the fulfilment of Joel's[1] prophecy, that before the coming of God's kingdom the Lord would pour out his spirit over young and old, men and women, after which terrible signs and wonders in heaven would follow, and then the day of judgment. Then there would be no salvation except in calling on the name of the Messiah. Now this Messiah, whose approach these signs had shown to be close at hand, was no other than Jesus of Nazareth. He had been marked out by God as filling this high rank by the miraculous powers given him, and yet more by his resurrection, when Israel under God's will had given him up to the heathens to be crucified. This resurrection proved him to be the great son of David,[2] upon whom his ancestor's thoughts were really fixed when he sang of his deliverance from the realms of the dead and from corruption.[3] And, lastly, this pouring out of the holy gift which God had promised proved beyond contradiction that Jesus was now the Messiah, provisionally exalted

[1] Joel II. 28–32; compare Vol. IV., pp. 153, 154.
[2] Psalm cxxxii. 11.
[3] Psalm xvi. 8—11; compare Vol. I., p. 273.

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to God's right hand, in accordance again with a prophetic song of David's.[1]

The assembled people were deeply impressed by this address, and asked, in response to its appeal, what they were to do. Upon which Peter resumed: "Repent and be baptised as believers in Jesus, the Messiah, for the remission of your sins. Then you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. For yours is the Messianic kingdom with all its blessings, yours and your children's; and all the heathen who by God's grace shall be taken into Israel, shall share it with you."— Great was Peter's rejoicing; for when he had once more earnestly admonished his hearers to separate themselves from their stiff-necked contemporaries, that they might not share their condemnation, no fewer than three thousand announced their conversion and were baptised on that same day.

Well-grounded objections may be urged against the credibility of this account. The signs which accompany the lofty inspiration of the disciples betray themselves at once as products of the imagination of the Christian community. Conscious of possessing the Holy Spirit, conscious of owing it to the risen Master, the community of Jesus imagined that the gift must have been imparted at some definite moment,[2] whether at Pentecost or, as another account would have it, on the still earlier occasion of one of the appearances of the Christ.[3] Round this conception the outward symbols of the manifestation would readily cluster. Nor is it strange that the first revelation or working of the Spirit should be made to consist in speaking with other tongues, that is to say with other than the usual tongues, with human tongues touched by God, in a burst of religious ecstasy. This phenomenon, which is the counterpart of the ancient "pro-

[1] Psalm cx. 1. [2] Compare Vol. V., pp. 150, 151.
[3] John xx. 22.

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phesying,"[1] is known to us from Paul's description[2] as an attempt to give utterance to religious transport, without using the understanding, in broken sentences, incoherent exclamations, and inarticulate sounds; sometimes it would take the form of exalted praise, which could only find expression in cries of joy and sighs. We also gather that the phenomenon appeared repeatedly in the Apostolic communities, and that it was very highly esteemed. What more natural than that tradition should make it the first sign of life in the assembly of the faithful? We may note in this connection that the book of Acts mentions the phenomenon on several other occasions, and always to mark the beginning of a genuine and formal entrance into the Messianic community.[3] But in the passage we are now discussing this "speaking with tongues" is designedly represented as consisting in the use of all manner of foreign words, as a symbol that the Gospel was destined for all peoples. This brought the legend into agreement not only with a Jewish tradition that when the voice of God proclaimed the Law from Mount Sinai it sounded as if the words were uttered in every language of the world, but also with the expectation that in the Messianic age the confusion of tongues and division of mankind that had reigned since the building of the tower of Babel would be superseded by the original unity of language and universal peace.—Finally, the closing portions of the story seem no more historical than what precedes. Peter's discourse, like the other speeches in this book, is simply invented for him by the author in accordance with the usual custom of the time;[4] nor can we well believe that his first discourse resulted in a conversion in mass and the baptism of three thousand people in a single day. We shall

[1] See Vol. II., p. 277. [2] 1 Corinthians xii.—xiv.
[3] Acts x. 44 ff., xix. 1 ff., viii. 15 ff.
[4] See Vol. V., pp. 29, 30.

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observe the same exaggeration in stating numbers upon other occasions, when we shall hear of five thousand and afterwards of many tens of thousands of conversions.[1]

We need not even suppose that our story rests upon the reminiscence of any one particular fact, such as the common transport of the disciples spoken of as the appearance of the Christ to five hundred brethren.[2] The birth of the community of Jesus is buried in obscurity, and it may very well have taken place at Jerusalem by gradual and imperceptible degrees. Afterwards, when the very natural desire to fix some special day for it arose, the feast of Pentecost presented itself as the first national festival after the fatal Passover; and if that day had already come to be regarded as the commemoration of the giving of the Law, which it certainly was in later times, then as the festival of the old dispensation it would seem preeminently suitable for the introduction of the new. In a word, after all the reservations we have been obliged to make, we find very little of this story left unchallenged, but we must not forget that this little is the kernel of the whole, the one fact of inestimable significance that a community of believers did actually spring up; to which we may safely add that in its early youth this community already numbered amongst its characteristics those bursts of inspiration known as "speaking with tongues."

But whether it began as a close community, to which no one was admitted without solemn consecration, and how the practice of baptism arose, we cannot tell. Jesus did not institute the ceremony in question. Some have supposed, though on insufficient grounds, that it was first introduced in the case of converted heathens, and therefore a good deal later than the time we are now discussing. If, on the other hand, it was really established at Jerusalem at an earlier period, and for the benefit of Jews who joined the com-

[1] Acts xxi. 20. [2] See pp. 144, 145.

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munity of the Messiah, then it was obviously borrowed from John.[1] In fact, the whole work of the Twelve was an imitation of that of John, and bears testimony to the strength of his influence. Properly speaking, the Apostles were not carrying on the work of Jesus, but that of his predecessor, not only inasmuch as they plunged the future citizens of the kingdom of God beneath the purifying waters, but in the exclusive prominence they gave to the last judgment and in their preaching of the speedy and sudden dawn of the Messianic age.

Now let us return for a moment to Peter's discourse. It is given us as a specimen of the primitive Apostolic preaching, and as such it certainly deserves our confidence. The same may be said of a second discourse, put into the mouth of Peter, which we shall presently hear, and which resembles the first pretty closely in its general purport and contents, as well as in the occasion of its delivery and its handling of the subject.[2] Three points at once excite our observation. This preaching does not concern Jesus, the hero of faith, the friend of man, the noble rescuer of humanity, whose obedience and love culminated in his death upon the cross. Far from it! It concerns Israel's Messiah, approved as the Messiah by his resurrection, in spite of his death upon the cross in shame. On the strength of Psalm cx., which Jesus himself, though with quite a different intention, had already applied to the Messiah,[3] he was declared henceforth to be sitting "on the right hand of God" in heaven. Not only was this the highest place of honour, but it assured him the widest power of protecting and blessing his friends, and opposing and subduing his enemies during the initial establishment of his kingdom upon earth. Finally, here and everywhere the warp and weft of the Apostolic teaching, which also forms the substance of several of the books of the New Testament,

[1] See Vol. V., p. 132. [2] See pp. 179, 180. [3] See pp. 35, 36.

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consists in the belief that the end of the world was now really and truly close at hand, that the "last days" had already come, and that very soon Jesus would return from heaven, then for the first time coming in his true Messianic character.

To that consummation the breathless longing of his friends was directed; in that expectation they so toiled for him, that nothing could terrify or dishearten them. Little as they had understood their Master, they nevertheless clung to him faithfully and bore enthusiastic witness to his exaltation. Amidst all their mistakes and all their narrowness, their faith and courage do them immortal honour.

Be the how and the when what they may, a body of believers in Jesus of Nazareth, as the Messiah shortly to be expected, was, as a fact, established at Jerusalem, where it constantly increased. Its members, in after years at any rate, were known by the nickname of "Nazarenes," after the birthplace of their Messiah. We have a right, derived not only from the subsequent course of events, but from the very earliest accounts, to call this body of believers a *community*. Let us see what is told us of its internal condition or communal life.

The believers, so we read, displayed unflagging interest in the preaching of the Apostles, and unremitting zeal in prayer for the coming of the Messianic kingdom. So far from cherishing any thought of separating themselves from their people, they went daily to the national sanctuary as one man; but from the very first they were drawn by special ties to one another, were constantly together, and faithfully attended the common meals—a custom which rose spontaneously out of their brotherly affection, and in its turn was admirably suited to keep it alive. Then as they ate together, full of joy to think of the glorious future, but without intemperance or

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excess, they commemorated their Master and his parting meal. The praise of God was upon their lips, the favour of all the people was their lot, and their numbers grew from day to day.

But the strongest proof that they were one in heart and soul was the community of goods they established. They had everything in common, we are told repeatedly, and no one regarded his possessions as his own. They sold their lands and houses to divide the proceeds according to the necessities of each, and consequently none of them was ever in want; for, without the least compulsion, all who possessed any property sold it of their own accord, and gave the whole price to the Apostles for them to divide as they thought fit. Special mention is made in this connection of a certain Joseph, because of the significance his person afterwards acquired. He was a Levite, a native of the island of Cyprus, and his remarkable eloquence gained him the name from the Apostles of Barnabas, that is, "son of exhortation," or properly "of prophecy." He sold a piece of land that he possessed, and brought the money to the Twelve for them to dispose of as they would.

In contrast with this noble conduct we are told of the action of a certain man named Ananias, and his wife Sapphira. They had not wholly forsaken the world, but neither did they wish to seem backward in the eyes of the rest or to lose their future reward.[1] So they sold their land, but Ananias, with the knowledge of his wife, kept back a part of the money and brought the rest to the Apostles, pretending it was the whole. Then Peter, instructed by the Holy Spirit, and perceiving the attempted fraud, rebuked Ananias for his hypocrisy. He might have kept his land. No one compelled him to part with it; and if he chose to sell it he might have done whatever he liked with the pro-

[1] Compare Vol. V., pp. 215, 442.

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ceeds. But this hypocrisy was from the Evil One; it was a lie directed not against men, but against the Holy Spirit that dwelt in the community and in the Apostles.—Divine retribution was at hand. Hardly had Peter ended when the culprit sank at his feet, a corpse. Some of the younger brethren, most suited by their age for such a service, laid Ananias on a bier, carried him out, and buried him; for in those days it was not usual to keep a corpse unburied longer than was absolutely necessary. But this scene did not close the appalling drama. About three hours afterwards Sapphira, not knowing what had taken place, came into the assembly of the people. There, before Peter, lay the sum of money brought by Ananias, still untouched. As Sapphira was looking round for her husband, Peter, pointing with his finger to the coin, demanded sternly, "Is that the price for which you sold your land?" "It is," she answered unabashed. Then the sombre words of doom passed Peter's lips: "Why have you conspired together to test the power of the Holy Spirit to detect your fraud? I hear the returning steps of those who have buried your husband, and now the same men shall carry you out also." At that word she dropped to the ground and was no more, while the young men who had returned from the burial place, which was outside the city, entered at the very moment and found the same task awaiting them once more. The guilty pair were laid in the same tomb. How could such a signal judgment fail to make the profoundest impression upon the community and upon all the Jews that heard of it!

This legend is told to the glory of the youthful community whose wrongs were so terribly avenged, and still more to the honour of its leader, the Apostle, who was endowed with such dread powers from on high. But the fact is that, to say nothing of its impossibility, it ascribes distinctly immoral conduct to Peter, both in making him

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tempt Sapphira to the lie, instead of preventing her from telling it, and in making him twice exhibit a spirit of dire vengeance. Even the previous sketch of the life of the community, though not an invention, by no means deserves our implicit confidence. In the first place the author or the tradition he recorded evidently gives us an ideal sketch; and in itself this is no more than natural, for Christianity, soon torn by quarrels and dissensions, and stained by worldliness and self-seeking, fell under a delusion common alike to individuals and societies,[1] in looking back with yearning to the infancy of the faith as a time of innocence and of unqualified purity and love. But the exaggeration of this sketch is more than involuntary. It is deliberate. The very form in which it is given bears the marks of conscious art; for the life of the community is sketched twice in succession, in similar style, but with heightened colours on the second occasion, and each account is followed by a miracle, a persecution, and a triumph won by the Apostles.[2] Nor does the writer once trouble himself as to how it was possible for more than three thousand souls to assemble and take their meals together; and before long he is himself compelled to mention dissensions which sprang from differences of birth[3] or faith.[4] So, too, in spite of his own assertion that there was absolute community of goods amongst the believers, and that in consequence none of them were in need, we presently find him mentioning exceptions to the rule, not only in Ananias and Sapphira, but in a certain Mary who had a house of her own, which she had not sold,[5] to say nothing of certain "poor" widows to whom a daily allowance was made—not without some partiality.[6]

But in spite of all this, if we substitute a liberal munificence for community of goods, we need not hesitate to accept

[1] See Vol. I., p. 66. [2] Acts ii. 42 ff., iv. 32 ff.
[3] Acts vi. 1. [4] Acts xi. 2. [5] Acts xii. 12.
[6] Acts vi. 1.

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the main features of the picture as true, and to endorse the testimony subsequently borne to the Christians by their enemies in a time of great persecutions: "See how they love one another!" How could it be otherwise with the first community of Jesus? Would not older and more recent disciples alike be drawn towards one another and above all towards the Apostles? Would not the feeling that they shared a common life, a common hope, and a common danger, urge them cheerfully and liberally to perform the duties of brotherly affection? Would not many of them even sell some piece of property to enable them to supply the wants of needy brethren? Moreover such acts were fostered by the expectation that the world was soon coming to an end. Then no one would enjoy his earthly possessions more, but all these sacrifices would be rewarded at the Messianic judgment. We may be sure, however, that not many rich or distinguished men belonged to the community, and the fact that a few years afterwards we find many poor amongst the believers at Jerusalem, need not in any way drive us to the supposition that an attempt had really been made to establish an impossible community of goods.

There is no room to doubt that the belief in the return of Jesus to establish the kingdom of God was the main characteristic of the community at Jerusalem, and in the eyes of the outside public it constituted its only reason for existence or principle of cohesion. We are also safe in asserting that the believers regularly observed their religious duties as Jews, frequently trod the courts of the Temple, and in general fulfilled the precepts of the Law and tradition. How could they do otherwise in such an orthodox atmosphere? Apart from that new life of love, with which the spirit of Jesus inspired them, there was nothing to distinguish them from their fellow-countrymen and believers, except that while many looked forward to the coming of the Messiah,

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they alone held that that Messiah would be Jesus of Nazareth. In all other respects they were Jews, both in the outer forms of religion and in their ideas and convictions. If we are justified in regarding them as a separate sect at all, then they were certainly a sect of Jews.

But this one point of faith that distinguished them from others involved a principle the consequences and bearings of which they did not yet in the least degree realise. A crucified Messiah was a conception so directly contradictory of all religious prejudices that it must in time annihilate them. Jesus, though executed upon Golgotha, was yet the Messiah. In virtue of his resurrection? So it was said. But, as a matter of fact, it was in virtue of his moral and religious greatness, in virtue of the might of his spirit, in virtue of the truth he had revealed and the love he had displayed. The true grounds of his Messiahship must have been more and more clearly felt by many of his disciples, and when felt they could not fail to transform or annul the whole Jewish scheme of life and of the world. At the very least, this belief in Jesus secured the preservation of his image with all its beautiful and sacred reminiscences, and of the words which interpreted his principles—those mighty, life-giving, and renovating principles so little understood as yet. And when thus preserved and honoured, his image and his words must force themselves at last into fullest recognition.

From the very day of its institution at Pentecost, we are told, the community, and especially its leaders, enjoyed universal respect. And well they might, for the Apostles performed a profusion of signs and wonders. The following story serves as an illustration, and further records the first collision with the priestly authorities.

On a certain day Peter and John were going to the Temple at about three o'clock in the afternoon, the hour of

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evening prayer and sacrifice;[1] and at the same time there was a man of about middle life carried to the same place. He had been a cripple from his birth, and was set down every day close by one of the entrances to the sanctuary known as the Beautiful Gate, to beg alms of those who came to the Temple. As the two Apostles passed him he asked an alms. They turned their earnest gaze upon him, and Peter said, "Look at us!" He looked fixedly, expecting them to give him something, and Peter continued, "Silver and gold I have not; but what I have I give you: In the name of Jesus Christ the Nazarene (that is to say, by virtue of my faith in him) stand up and walk!" On this he took him by the hand and raised him up, while at the same moment his feet and ankles received their strength. He stood and walked like other men, and went into the Temple with his benefactors, leaping for joy and praising God! Now when the people, who recognised him as the beggar of the Beautiful Gate, saw him walking about, they were lost in amazement, and since he still clung to the Apostles a great crowd gathered round them in the southern colonnade, known as Solomon's. Peter seized the opportunity of addressing the crowd.

It was not by their own power or goodness, he said, that they had done this wonder. It was the God of the fathers who had wrought it to the glory of his servant Jesus, the Holy and Just One, who had been delivered by this same multitude to the Roman governor, and when he had determined to set him free had been denied and rejected, while a murderer had been preferred to him. But if *they* had slain the Prince of life, *God* had raised him up from the land of shades. It was to this that the Apostles bore witness; and it was the power of this faith in his Messiahship which Jesus had given them that had completely restored the cripple before all their eyes. And now, since the people and their leaders had

[1] Compare Vol. V., pp. 178, 320.

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alike rejected Jesus because they did not know that he was the Messiah, and since God had thus fulfilled the predictions of all the prophets that his Anointed One must suffer, it now remained for them to repent and be converted, that their sins might be blotted out. Then should come, after a time of woe and terror, the season of refreshment, the dawn of the golden age, when Jesus should return from heaven. Thither he had been received for a time till God should send him as the Messiah, at the restoration of all things,[1] as foretold by Moses[2] and Samuel, and all their successors. And to them in particular, since they might claim the prophets and God's covenant with Abraham[3] as their own, He had sent his servant first, with all the blessings that would follow on repentance.

So spoke the two Apostles to the people; but when the priests, the ruler of the temple-guard, and the Sadducees approached, they were much disturbed by their preaching, especially of the resurrection, and accordingly they seized them, and threw them into prison, since it was now too late in the day to allow of the instantaneous trial prescribed by custom. Meanwhile, however, many of the hearers were already converted, and the community henceforth numbered about five thousand. The next day the Sanhedrin assembled, with Annas and Caiaphas the high priests;[4] and Peter and John, together with the former cripple, were brought before them. They were required to declare by what power or name (by the Evil One or by God) they had performed this cure. Then Peter, seized by the Holy Spirit, cried out in stirring words that if they were on their trial for the blessing they had conferred upon the unfortunate cripple, then all the councillors and all Israel with them must know that the wonder had been worked by the name of Jesus Christ, the

[1] See Vol. V., p. 416.
[2] Deuteronomy xviii. 15 ff.
[3] Genesis xxii. 18.
[4] See Vol. V., p. 122.

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Nazarene, whom they had crucified, but whom God had raised again. He was the stone rejected by the builders, but made the corner-stone by God.[1] The promised blessings were to be looked for from him alone. There was no salvation except by faith in him!

The Sanhedrin was completely at a loss. What was the meaning of such confidence on the part of these unlettered laymen whom they now recognised as the companions of Jesus? And there stood the cripple beside them, whose restoration could not be got rid of! . . . They sent the prisoners out while they consulted together. The miracle was already the wonder of all the city, and could not possibly be denied. All they could do was to try to stop the matter going any further by forbidding their prisoners, under the sternest threats, to utter another word to anyone about Jesus as the Messiah. In vain! Peter and John demanded whether it was right in the sight of God to obey them rather than Him, for it was a moral impossibility for them to keep silence. This provoked more violent threats than ever; but the end of it was that they could find no excuse for punishing them, and had to release them for fear of the people, who glorified God with one voice for this great miracle.

As soon as the Apostles were at liberty, they went to their friends and told them all that had taken place. Then they offered a fervent and united prayer to the Creator of all things. Now that the prophecy of David, concerning opposition and enmity to the Lord's anointed,[2] had been fulfilled at Jerusalem, now that tetrarch and procurator, heathen and Jew, had conspired against Jesus, they prayed that God might give them courage to preach, in spite of all these threats, with power to work miracles in the name of Jesus. And in token that the prayer was heard, the whole place of assembly

[1] See p. 44. [2] Psalm ii. 1, 2.

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shook, the Holy Spirit seized them all again; they came forward undismayed, and continued to bear mighty witness to the resurrection of Jesus.

A second persecution ran a similar course. After the divine judgment had fallen upon Ananias and Sapphira, the community was constantly augmented by whole troops of men and women, and the Apostles displayed miraculous powers without parallel. Here is a specimen of their mighty deeds. In Solomon's colonnade the believers assembled, one in heart with the Apostles; all who had not joined the community stood respectfully aside, and the masses were evidently impressed with deepest awe. As the Apostles advanced to the colonnade, one might see sick people carried out along the way and laid on beds or mattresses by the side of the street, in the hope that Peter's shadow at least might fall upon them, for even that sufficed to heal them. And from the neighbouring places, too, they came with the sick and the possessed, and not one of them returned uncomforted. But the high priest and the other Sadducees could no longer endure to look on passively while the Apostles made such mighty progress; and accordingly they threw them into the city gaol. It was but labour lost! In the night the angel of the Lord unbolted the prison doors and led them out, commanding them to resume the preaching of salvation to the people in the Temple; and this they did in the early hours of the morning. Meanwhile the high priest and the others had summoned the whole Sanhedrin and sent to the prison for the Apostles; but the messengers returned alone and said: "The doors were firmly barred and bolted, and the sentries at their posts, but the prisoners were gone." We may well believe that the president, the captain of the temple-guard, and the high priests were at their wits' end now. At that very moment someone rushed in with the news that the very men whom they had thrown into prison were standing up and teaching

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in the Temple! The captain and his men hastened to secure them and bring them before the council, but they used no violence for fear they should be stoned by the people. There stood the Twelve before the Sanhedrin, while the high priest sternly cried: "We forbade you expressly to speak about your faith, and yet you have made it echo through Jerusalem, and are trying to throw the responsibility of that man's execution upon us." Then Peter, in the name of all the rest, answered with undaunted firmness that they ought to obey God rather than men; and it was God who had raised up Jesus, whom they had slain on the cross; it was God who had exalted him as Prince and Saviour, to give repentance and forgiveness to Israel. "And we are his witnesses of these things," he concluded; "and, moreover, the Holy Spirit, which God gives to all who obey Him, shows that they are true."

The members of the Sanhedrin waxed furious and were almost sentencing the Apostles to death, when one of them, a Pharisee of the name of Gamaliel, a teacher of the Law, held in high honour by all the people, stood up, ordered the accused to be removed, and then delivered his opinion, supported by historical analogies. He advised his colleagues to pause before proceeding to violence; for a bad cause was sure to collapse of itself. Thus a certain Theudas had arisen a short time back, with great pretensions, and had collected about four hundred followers. But he was killed, his followers were scattered, and his pretensions came to nothing. Afterwards Judas, the Galilæan, had headed a revolt on occasion of the census;[1] but he, too, was destroyed, and his followers dispersed. In the same way, if this preaching was false doctrine, a mere human invention, it would fall to pieces of itself without the interference of the Sanhedrin. Violence was at best superfluous, and if by chance it should be a truth

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 5, 6, 8, 70, 113.

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from God with which they had to do, then surely they must avoid all violent resistance, not only as vain presumption but as sinful fighting against God.

The Sanhedrin listened to reason. The Apostles were called in, condemned to be scourged, once more forbidden to speak of the Nazarene, and then dismissed. Filled with joy at having been counted worthy to suffer ignominy for their Master's title, they left the judgment hall and ceased not, day by day, in the Temple and at home, to preach Jesus as the Messiah.

In these two stories we can find little else than half intentional and half unconscious fiction. The miracles, which are so recklessly multiplied, are some of them superfluous, such as the liberation of the Apostles by night, followed at once by their recapture, and others, such as the cures effected by Peter's shadow, of the nature of magic. The helpless clumsiness of the Jewish authorities so sharply contrasting with the intrepid decision of the Apostles, sounds equally unhistorical, and we cannot help exclaiming, "Why did not they believe, like the rest?" Indeed, at this rate, Jerusalem with all its neighbourhood would very soon have been cleared of sick people and of unbelievers alike! All that we are at liberty to accept as historical is that a collision with the authorities probably took place, though the whole drift of the stories that record it, together with all the details, appears incredible. The writer's intention is clearly to glorify the community at Jerusalem, especially the Apostles, and most of all Peter. This is why he makes the miracles take place as publicly as possible, and instantly acquire the utmost fame. A second object of the writer, or his authority, is to represent the Jewish people, especially the national or religious party, as at first distinctly favourable to the cause of Jesus. This is why we are so constantly, conspicuously, and emphatically assured that the masses reverenced, honoured,

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and protected the believers and their chiefs, while none but the Sadducees persecuted them, and the Twelve found an advocate, not to say a deliverer, in the Pharisee Gamaliel.

This Rabban Gamaliel I., the grandson of Hillel, and the renowned leader of the school of Jerusalem, who died in 58 A.D., is known to us from other sources; but he certainly never uttered this discourse; for it betrays a strong suspicion, to say the least of it, that this preaching of the Christ was really of divine origin, and, moreover, it is a tissue of contradictions. Theudas and Judas were not put down without violence, so that their fate could not furnish an argument against interfering with the Apostles. The principle, "Let error work its way unchecked, and it will ruin itself," is one which cannot possibly be carried out; and we shall soon see Saul, who is introduced to us as a disciple of Gamaliel, act in directest contradiction to his master's supposed advice. But the most conclusive fact of all is that this Theudas, of whom Gamaliel is made to speak, was a prophet, or popular leader, who did not appear till more than ten years after the time we are now speaking of, and a good thirty years *after* Judas of Galilee, so that our writer has committed a twofold sin against chronology.[1]

A few more miracles ascribed to Peter will be spoken of elsewhere,[2] since the scene is laid away from Jerusalem, and they occur in a different connection. Presently, when Paul appears in the Acts as a worker of miracles, we shall gain fresh light as to the origin of all these stories. At present, therefore, we need say no more. But hereafter, whenever we find ourselves in contact with the primitive community of Jerusalem, or transported into its midst, we shall have to consider it with especial reference to the dissensions of

[1] Compare Vol. V., pp. 70, 121, 122.
[2] See chapter vi.

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the Apostolic age; and we will, therefore, seize this opportunity, passing over eight or nine eventful years, of giving the only remaining narrative about the community of Jerusalem, which stands in no connection with these Apostolic dissensions. It simply dwells upon the relations of the believers to the Jewish government and people now hostile and persecuting, instead of favourable as at first; and, though embellished by tradition, it records an event which may well be accepted in the main as historical.

It was the last year of the reign of Herod Agrippa I. In his zeal for the Jewish religion, but on what special occasion we cannot say, this friend of the Pharisees laid violent hands upon some of the believers in Jerusalem. Nay, one of the Twelve, James the son of Zebedee, fell a victim to the sword, and ere long the community was threatened with a still heavier blow. For the king observed that the Jews were pleased by what he had done, so he seized on Peter also, just before the Passover, and put him under careful guard, intending to pass public sentence of death upon him as soon as the feast was over.

The last night had set in. The Apostle slept peacefully in his prison, while the congregation watched in fervent prayer to God to rescue this precious life. Alas! there was little hope of his escape, for heavy bolts and bars held him relentlessly in his captivity, and he was guarded by four soldiers, relieved every three hours, who must answer with their lives for his safe custody. At this very moment he lay between two of the soldiers, with one of his arms fettered to each of them, whilst the two others kept strict watch at the gate, a little way apart from one another. But, lo! when all was quiet, when no one suspected anything, a glow of heavenly light shone of a sudden through the darkness of the prison, and an angel of the Lord stood by the wretched bed. He pushed Peter's side and woke him, with

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the words: "Rise up quickly!" Then the fetters dropped from his hands and he rose mechanically. "Gird up your garments and bind your sandals to your feet," continued the angel; and when the Apostle had obeyed, he added: "Throw on your mantle and follow me!" Peter did so, thinking all the while that it was a vision and that he should soon find himself upon his bed and in his fetters again. They passed unobserved by the first and second watch, and reached the iron gate that opened into the street, unchallenged. The gate opened of itself; they went out, turned round the corner, walked along one street together, and all at once the angel was gone! It was only now that Peter returned to full consciousness, and said: "Now I know for certain that the Lord hath sent his angel to rescue me from the violence of Herod and the people's thirst for blood." So he hastened along the way that led to the house of Mary the mother of John, surnamed Mark, where a number of the faithful were assembled in prayer. He knocked at the door, and the maid, Rhoda, came at the summons, but before she opened she asked who it was that came at such an untimely hour. When she recognised Peter's voice, she was so delighted that she forgot to open the door for him, and ran in and told them all that Peter was standing outside. They said she was raving, but she persisted in saying: "Indeed, indeed he is there." "Then it must be his guardian angel!" they said. "It can surely bode no good!" Meanwhile Peter knocked again and yet again; and when at last they opened the door, there to the amazement of them all stood Peter himself. He motioned them with his hand to keep silence, and told them how the Lord had brought him out of the prison. Then he told them to inform James and all the brethren who were not present of what had taken place, and departed himself elsewhere.

Picture the deadly terror of the soldiers when the morning broke and they found the prisoner had vanished without a

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trace! When the king sent for Peter and heard that he was gone, he had the sentinels thrown into chains, tried, and executed. Little did he think that the avenging hand of God was already stretched over his own head!—It was but a few weeks afterwards, when he had left Jerusalem for his magnificent residential city of Cæsarea-Palestina, that he received a Phœnician embassy there. He had been violently incensed against Tyre and Sidon, and had forbidden the export of corn and other necessaries of life from his kingdom to these cities. The Phœnicians, who were reduced to great perplexities by this measure, found means of bribing Blastus, the king's first chamberlain and favourite, to espouse their cause, and then had begged for peace. On a certain day, therefore, Herod granted their embassy a solemn public audience, and announced his resolution. Seated on his throne, and clad in his robes of state, he delivered an address to them in the presence of the people, and laid down the conditions of peace. The splendour of his appearance impressed all present with a sense of his incomparable majesty, and the substance of what he said so delighted them that he had no sooner finished than they burst into rapturous applause and the blasphemous cry echoed from end to end of the quadrangle, "It is a god that speaks, and not a man!" Herod did not reject this sacrilegious flattery. So the angel of the Lord smote him, and a few days afterwards he sank under an equally loathsome and painful disease of the bowels.

This angel is already known to us from the narratives of the Old Testament, where he appears as an explanation, or rather a description, of sudden sickness and death.[1] For the rest we find the occasion and manner of Herod's death described almost identically in Josephus. This historian, however, knows nothing of an embassy from the Phœnicians

[1] See Vol. III., pp. 37, 382.

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and a public audience granted them; but speaks of games in honour of the emperor Claudius, at which the king, when the first rays of the sun shone upon his silvered robe, was greeted by his sycophants as a god. Five days afterwards he was a corpse, having suffered ever-increasing agonies meanwhile. This confirmation gives a certain guarantee for the truth of the story we are considering, which stands alone in the book of Acts. The account of Peter's rescue is, of course, fabulous; nor does it seem to have occurred to the writer how unworthy it would be of God to make victims of the unoffending sentinels; but that James was slain and Peter imprisoned may be accepted as fact, and instead of the messenger from heaven, who gives the latter his liberty, we may suppose that the death of the persecutor, which so often opened prison doors, or the intercession of some friend, or any other of the hundred chances that might give a favourable turn to things, resulted in Peter's regaining his freedom.

We may remark in passing that Peter's message to the absent brethren contains the first mention of James, the son of Joseph, the brother of Jesus, as a distinguished member of the community at Jerusalem. We shall presently meet him again in this capacity, together with Peter.

But then a great development will already have taken place, of which at present the primitive community had not even a presentiment, against which it ranged itself in vain, by which the cause of Jesus was shaken free from the ceremonial restraints of the Mosaic law and the national exclusiveness of the Israelitish prophets.

Upon this important subject we will now fix our attention.

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Chapter III.

STEPHEN AND PHILIP.

Matthew XVII. 1–9; Acts VI.—VIII. 8, 26–40, XI. 19–21; Matthew XV. 21–28.[1]

ON a certain day, says a celebrated legend that rose towards the close of the Apostolic age, Jesus took his three chosen friends, Peter, James, and John, and went up a lofty mountain to be alone with them. Here, in the sight of the three, his form was transfigured, his countenance shone like the sun, and his garments glittered like the light. At the same moment they saw two figures at his side, in the like heavenly glory, and recognised them at once as Moses and Elijah, who were conversing with Jesus. Then Peter spoke and said to Jesus: "Lord! it is well for us to be here. If it please thee, I will make three booths, one for thee and one for Moses and one for Elijah." But before he had finished speaking the shining cloud that girds the Deity had descended upon the mountain top, and streamed over the three figures till they seemed to melt into the glow and were lost to sight, while the voice of God sounded from the cloud to Peter and the others: "This is my beloved son; hear him!" Then in a moment all was gone; but there was no doubt of whom the voice had spoken, for when the disciples looked round they could see none but Jesus.

Even without the additional light which the comparison with an Old Testament precedent[2] throws upon the details of this picture, its general purport can hardly be mistaken; while the importance attached to it may be gathered from a distinct reference being made to it in the latest book of the Bible, the second Epistle of Peter.[3] In the presence of his

[1] Luke ix. 28–36; Mark ix. 2–10, vii. 24–30.
[2] Exodus xxiv. 15, 16, 18. [3] 2 Peter i. 16*b*–18.

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friends and disciples Jesus is transfigured, that is to say, he is recognised by them as the Messiah, but the lawgiver and the representative prophet[1] still stand in undiminished glory at his side; and Peter, together with James and John, wishes to preserve all these three forces, the Jewish law and national expectation no less than the gospel, and to build tents for them all. Vain is the wish and vain the project! The divine will makes itself known, and Moses and Elijah disappear, leaving Jesus alone, singled out as the son of God's good pleasure.[2] There should not, and could not, be any permanent alliance between the new religious truth and the ancient practices of external piety prescribed by the Law or the ancient conceptions of a proud, unloving nationality.[3]

But the Apostles had not yet perceived this incompatibility.[4] It was outside their circle and without their help that this great step was made, as we shall see in this and the following chapters. It is not without reason that Peter, James, and John, whom the Evangelical tradition represents as the chosen friends of Jesus, and who were held in the highest estimation at Jerusalem and elsewhere as the pillars of the community—it is not without reason that these three men are specially indicated as wishing to retain both Moses and Elijah, while Peter, pre-eminently the Apostle of the Jews, is made their spokesman.[5] James, the son of Joseph, we must probably regard as virtually taking the place of James, the son of Zebedee, who was cut off early. Nor must we overlook the statement made by all the three Evangelists, though Mark has it in the wrong place, that the disciples were very much alarmed by what took place. Luke says that terror came upon them when Moses and Elijah

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 61, 62.

[2] Psalm ii. 7; Isaiah xlii. 1; and Deuteronomy xviii. 15. Compare Vol. V., p. 152. [3] Vol. V., p. 273. [4] Vol. V., pp. 270, 298, 374 ff.

[5] Galatians ii. 7, 9, 12; 1 Corinthians i. 12.

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went into the cloud and disappeared; while according to Matthew, when the voice from heaven had corrected their first intention, they fell down to the ground in fear, but were touched, raised up, and encouraged by Jesus.

We may mention, incidentally, that here again[1] Luke represents the vision as a more palpable fact than the others make it, though even Mark speaks of the whiteness of the garments of Jesus, which shone as no bleacher upon earth could make them. The third Gospel further speaks of *the* mountain, as if a real and well-known mountain were intended; and in the same spirit the later tradition, overlooking the emblematic character of the story, pointed out Tabor as the mount of the Transfiguration. Luke also tells us that Jesus went up to pray,[2] and adds the not very appropriate comments that the disciples were drowsy, though they kept themselves awake; that Peter did not know what he was saying—an unlucky touch which reappears in Mark—and that the Apostle did not speak until the representatives of the old Dispensation were on the point of departing. Finally, Luke stands alone in saying that when Moses and Elijah appeared in glory they discoursed of the death upon the cross which Jesus must endure at Jerusalem; and though this trait does not at all astonish us, especially in Luke,[3] it is quite foreign to the main conception of the scene.

This conception is that the authority of the Law and the prophets must be annulled. But of course this could not be done suddenly, nor without a conflict. It was a question which only came forward gradually, and could not be settled without many a strain in the bosom of the community.

Let us listen to what is told us of the origin of the first of these collisions between the old and the new spirit!

[1] See Vol. V., p. 153. [2] See Vol. V., p. 334.
[3] See pp. 141, 154, 180, 181.

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So far from being appalled or discouraged by the mortal peril that threatened them, and the maltreatment they had experienced, the Apostles were but stimulated to continue their preaching of Jesus as the Messiah both in the Temple and at home;[1] and consequently the numbers of the faithful still increased. If only this outward success had been accompanied by undiminished brotherly affection and unbroken harmony! But alas! the season of first love had all too soon passed by. Differences of language and of country asserted themselves,—and peace had fled.

For though most of the members of the community had been born and bred on Jewish soil, and were so-called Hebrews, yet there was also a large number of Grecians amongst them, that is to say, foreign Jews, who had settled in Jerusalem or the neighbourhood,[2] but continued for the most part to speak their native Greek, which was then the language of the world. Amongst them there were even certain proselytes, or men of heathen birth, who had undergone circumcision, accepted the whole Mosaic law, and been incorporated as members of the Jewish people. Now these two elements, the Hebrew and the Grecian, had never completely amalgamated; and, as the community increased, it fell more and more completely into two separate groups. The cause of this may be found partly in the natural tendency to associate with one's fellow-townsmen and fellow-countrymen, but partly, perhaps, in a certain tone of superiority assumed by the natives of Palestine towards the Jews from heathen lands, and yet more in greater or less diversities of feeling and opinion which could not always be kept back. For the Grecians, who had grown up and possibly lived for many years in a heathen atmosphere, were for the most part less intolerant and bitter than the others; while their frequent

[1] See p. 184. [2] See p. 167.

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contact with the Grecian civilisation had in many cases opened their minds and expanded their horizon; and finally, they knew by experience that even at a distance from the Temple and its dazzling ceremonial an earnest piety was possible.

The occasion, however, that revealed the elements of dissension is said to have been of a purely material nature. The Grecians complained of the Hebrews, apparently with justice, on the ground that, in the daily distribution of money or food to the needy members of the community, their widows had to give way to the others, and always came off worst. This could not possibly be an accident; but the charge of partiality was not pressed against the Apostles personally, or at any rate not against them alone, but against those who surrounded them, and in general the whole Hebrew-speaking, or rather Aramaic-speaking, portion of the community. An end must certainly be put to these complaints, and at the same time to the strained and uneasy relations which they indicated. So the Twelve summoned a meeting of all the believers and laid the whole question before them, with the words: "We should have to sacrifice the work of preaching if we gave the sustenance of the poor the attention it requires; so do you, brethren, look round for some of your number who are favourably known to all of you, and select seven of them amply endowed with the gifts of the Spirit and of wisdom needful for this delicate and laborious work of love; and we will then commit this service to them, and devote the whole of our own time and strength to prayer in our assemblies and to the preaching of the Lord."

The proposal was received with unmingled approval and the brethren selected Stephen, a man conspicuous for his mighty faith and glowing enthusiasm, Philip, Prochŏrus, Nicānor, Timon, Parmĕnas, and, finally, a certain proselyte, Nicolas, of Antioch. These men were then presented to the

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Apostles, who consecrated them to the service by prayer, and by laying their hands upon them.

Meanwhile, the community at Jerusalem was constantly increasing; even the priests, in many cases, forgot their enmity and became believers. But before long a fearful storm was to break.

Amongst the Seven, Stephen distinguished himself from the first by the wealth of his divine gifts and powers, which enabled him to do great signs and wonders amongst the Jews. He directed his preaching especially to foreigners, whom he found in their several synagogues; for we must know that the holy city was full of houses of prayer. According to the Talmud there were no fewer than four hundred and eighty; but, of course, the greater number of them would be small and insignificant. It appears that almost every district or great city, in which there were many Jews, had one of these synagogues in Jerusalem, which served for the use of any of its citizens who might permanently settle in Jerusalem, and also for those who went up to celebrate a feast. It was a kind of general rendezvous. Thus in connection with Stephen's work we are told of synagogues of the Asians, or natives of the coast of Asia Minor; of the Cilicians, in whose capital, Tarsus, many Jews were settled; of the Alexandrians, for two of the five quarters of the magnificent capital of Egypt were entirely Jewish; of the Cyrenæans, for one-fourth of the population of Cyrene was Jewish;[1] and, lastly, of the Libertini, or Roman "freedmen," that is to say, Jews who had been captured in war, and carried to Rome as slaves, or had been born in slavery there, but who had subsequently been set free by their masters.—Now in these synagogues Stephen encountered the most violent opposition, both because of his great success and because of the special views which he enunciated. In his mouth the preaching of

[1] See p. 119.

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Jesus as the Messiah appeared to threaten religion with insult and danger. So some of the worshippers attempted to refute him, and argued with him as to the abiding authority of the Law and the eternal significance of the Temple and its service. It was all in vain! These controversies, as is often the case, instead of making Stephen withdraw the assertions to which so much exception was taken, only drove him to more uncompromising utterances than ever; and yet his opponents could never hold their own against his penetration and skill, and above all against his enthusiasm. So they incited certain fanatics to accuse Stephen publicly of blasphemous (heretical) language against the Law of Moses and the whole Jewish religion.[1] This made a great commotion both amongst the populace and the members of the Sanhedrin; and as Stephen, who went his way undaunted, was again discoursing in a synagogue, he found himself suddenly surrounded by his enemies, seized and dragged before the Council.

The trial began at once. False witnesses[2] had been secured, and gave their testimony: "This man preaches day by day against the Temple and the Law. For we have heard him say that ere long this Jesus of Nazareth will devastate the Temple and abolish the institutions given us by Moses." In burning indignation all the senators fixed their eyes upon the prisoner, and behold! his face was flooded with a heavenly glory. But the president asked sternly, "Is it true what they have said?" and Stephen instantly replied in a long discourse, in which he ran through the whole history of Israel from Abraham's call to the building of Solomon's temple, in a vein which strongly reminds us of Ezra's confession on occasion of the introduction of the Mosaic law.[3]

[1] Compare pp. 101, 102. [2] Compare p. 95.
[3] See Vol. IV., p. 215.

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Stephen traced in detail the fulfilment of God's prediction to the patriarch that his posterity should sojourn in a strange land, should long be oppressed there, should be avenged and brought out by God, should then be blessed with the revelation of the true religion, and should be brought into the land of promise, where they must worship Him. It was only indirectly and incidentally that he refuted the accusation brought against him by speaking of God's election, guidance, and protection of Israel, by describing Moses as the great man of God to whom the angel of the Lord on Sinai revealed the commandments, the observance of which gives life, and by appealing to the prophets[1] in support of his ideas about the Temple. The real conception and drift of the discourse was to hurl back the charge of impiety with redoubled force upon the people, and to explain by historical analogy the cause of the unfavourable reception which his preaching of the Messiah had met from Israel. For the greater and more numerous God's blessings had been, the more corrupt and wicked had Israel always shown itself. Moses had felt it more than anyone,—Moses who foretold the coming of a prophet like himself, namely the Messiah; Moses who was himself a type of that Messiah in his person and his lot, especially in the treatment he experienced at the hands of his people. For when he tried to rescue his brothers they renounced him; and afterwards, in spite of all that God had done for them and given them through him, they disobeyed and deserted him, and made themselves a golden calf, whereupon God gave them over to idolatry. And in the same way their age-old superstition that the Most High actually dwelt in the Temple was a proof of their narrowness and want of spirituality.—As Stephen thus set forth the rebellious spirit of Israel, his words grew hotter every moment, and though he

[1] Vol. IV., pp. 250, 251.

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had begun very courteously, addressing the senators as "Fathers" and the rest as "Brethren," and begging their attention, he ended by bursting into a violent denunciation in which he chastised them as a stiff-necked people, externally pious but inwardly estranged from God, deaf to His voice, and no better than so many heathens. "You never fail," he cried, "to resist the Holy Spirit, as your fathers did before you! Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute? It was they who slew all who foretold the coming of the Righteous One, and it is you who have now betrayed and murdered the Righteous One himself, it is you who have accepted the Law ordained by angels but have not observed it!"

The hearers were seized with ungovernable rage and gnashed their teeth against him; but he did not so much as see them, for he was gazing, in a transport, into heaven, where he saw the Divine Glory and saw Jesus standing at God's right hand, as though he had risen to receive him. "See there!" he cried, "I can see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on God's right hand." Then the senators shrieked with rage and horror, and, putting their fingers into their ears, they rushed upon Stephen as a single man, drove him out of the city, and stoned him on the very spot. Not a shade of fear or vindictiveness passed over the martyr's soul. As the stones came crashing upon him, he raised his hands on high, and said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" Then he fell upon his knees and uttered one last cry. It was a prayer for his murderers, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!" and he breathed his last, crushed amongst the stones.

At the fall of night certain pious men came to the deserted place of punishment, drew out the mangled corpse from beneath the stones, gave it decent burial, and made great mourning for the dead, with funeral music and fasting.

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But only very few were bold and generous enough to think and act in this way, for the madness of fanaticism was now aroused. The death of Stephen was the signal for a furious persecution, which scattered all the brethren through every district of Judæa and Samaria, except the Apostles only, who remained at Jerusalem.

Amongst the persecutors a certain man, in the early prime of life, named Saul, particularly distinguished himself. He was present at the death of Stephen, and when the two witnesses, whose duty it was to throw the first stones, laid aside their mantles, he took charge of them. It rejoiced his heart to see the blasphemer rooted out from the people of the Lord. And yet . . . .

This is a most remarkable narrative, and is doubly interesting, because the first martyr appears in it as the herald of the independent development of the Christian community. We must not leave it, therefore, till we have submitted it to a careful examination.

In the main we may regard it as historical, though of course we cannot believe in the assembly of all these thousands of disciples, in the conversion of a whole host of priests, in the mighty miracles of Stephen, in the transfiguration of his countenance till it became like an angel's, or even in the genuineness of his discourse, which contains several small inaccuracies that we have not stayed to point out.[1] All this and more of the like nature we pass over; nor will we venture to decide whether Stephen's prayer to be received for a time into heaven, together with his glorified Lord, was really uttered by him in sacred transport at the moment of his martyrdom, or was put into his mouth in after times, when the Christians believed that all the martyrs would be exempt from the necessity of

[1] Acts vii. 2, 6, 16, 29, &c.

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descending to the land of shades.[1] Again, though the writer represents the Sanhedrin as behaving like a band of savage robbers, and Stephen as the victim of a tumult, he puts us in the way of correcting his own account, and lets us see that the trial and the defence took the regular course, by speaking of the two witnesses who laid aside their outer garments and began the execution as required by law and order. Perhaps it is also due to this inaccuracy of description that we are no longer able to discover whether the Sanhedrin demanded and obtained permission to carry out the sentence, or whether they exceeded their powers by dispensing with it.[2] It has been conjectured that just at this time there was not a procurator in office at all, the old one having been deposed and the new one not yet having arrived, and that the Sanhedrin in consequence may have taken more upon themselves than they would otherwise have ventured to do. The striking similarity between the way in which Stephen meets his fate and the account in the third Gospel of the last hours of Jesus may rouse a certain amount of suspicion, but this suspicion must fall less upon the narrative we are now considering than upon the other.[3] On the other hand the partial coincidence between the charge brought against Stephen and that which the first two Gospels represent as preferred against Jesus, seems to plead for the accuracy of both accounts. And here, too, the "falseness" of the evidence does not consist in its being an invention, but in the turn which it gave to Stephen's words. He certainly never intended to say that when Jesus returned he would violently destroy the Temple and abolish the whole Law, but simply that in the kingdom of God the service of the

[1] Revelation vi. 9, 11, xx. 4; compare Philippians i. 23.

[2] See pp. 106, 107.

[3] Compare Acts vii. 56, 59, 60, with Luke xxii. 69, xxiii. 46, 34; and see pp. 99 ff., 125 ff.

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Temple would give way to a purer form of worship, and the idolatry of forms and ceremonies to a life in the true spirit of the Law. Finally, the writer once more corrects himself by letting us know[1] that not all the believers, but only the Grecians who sympathised with Stephen, were persecuted and expelled from Jerusalem. Not only the Apostles therefore remained in Jerusalem, but all those who had been on their side, for they had not exposed themselves to any danger, and had not roused the spirit of fanaticism. The persecution was violent[2] but limited; though the account in Acts may be true to this extent, that the community in general suffered in its reputation amongst the rigid Jews when the attitude assumed by the more free-thinking members brought suspicion upon the whole.

Now the evidence it supplies of these internal divisions is just what makes the story on the whole deserve our confidence. Stephen is evidently our author's hero.[3] He wishes to secure him full recognition; and consequently makes the light fall full upon him while the Apostles sink into the background. But when the progress of the narrative necessarily brings out the differences of view that had very early found their way into the community, the author endeavours to conceal or disguise the fact as completely as possible. So he simply dismisses the accusation against Stephen as "false," just as he afterwards does in the case of Paul;[4] he makes the whole community victims of the persecution; and, above all, he finds the point of difference between the two parties in no religious question at all, but in a simple matter of the distribution of alms, while he makes the Seven not the representatives of a party within the community, but officers selected by all the faithful together and consecrated by the Apostles themselves, with prayer and the laying on of hands.

[1] Acts ix. 26 ff., and xi. 19 ff., in contrast with viii. 1.
[2] Galatians i. 13. [3] Acts vi. 5, 8, 10, 15. [4] Acts xxi. 28, 21.

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Now this attempt at concealment is the very best evidence of the fact, which peeps through the narrative in spite of the author, that in the community at Jerusalem, even in the first period of its existence, two divergent tendencies were gradually discernible. In general terms they may be described as that of the Hebrews, who formed the great majority, recognised the Twelve as their leaders, and in their turn exercised a marked influence upon them; and that of the Grecians, whose champions or leaders were the Seven.

We are safe in assuming that all the Seven were Grecians. This belief is suggested by their names, which are all Greek; for though Palestinian Jews had sometimes Greek names, as was the case with the two Apostles Andrew and Philip for instance, yet it cannot be an accident that there is not a single Hebrew name in the seven. Besides, we are expressly told that Nicolas came from Antioch, and was even born a heathen, while Stephen and Philip are pointed out as Greeks with almost equal certainty by the circles in which they worked and the whole tone of their teaching. And even in the case of the other four, whose names alone we know, the circumstances of their appointment and the drift of the story which records it require us to suppose a foreign origin. It remains a mystery why Barnabas, himself a Grecian Jew, a generous giver and a man of liberal views, does not appear amongst the Seven.

And now, the question forces itself upon us whether complaints about the distribution of alms were really the beginning of the whole affair. Many have traced the institution of the order of "deacons" in the appointment of the Seven; but this is out of the question. It would be more to the point to speak of "elders," for it was to them, according to a later account,[1] that the management and distribution of funds for the poor was entrusted at Jerusalem.

[1] Acts xi. 30.

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But the writer evidently intends to represent the office of the Seven (a sacred number) as purely local and temporary, confined to Jerusalem, and terminated by this persecution. Setting this point aside then, there is no inherent difficulty in believing that the neglect of the Greek widows was the occasion of the independent appearance of the two schools; for how often does it happen that a deep-seated difference is first openly avowed upon some far more trivial occasion than the one we are now considering! But, unfortunately for our belief in this version of the affair, there is a somewhat analogous case of which we still possess the genuine and original account by Paul, and there the author of Acts represents a split which was really caused by a conflict of principle of extreme importance, as though it were occasioned by an insignificant disagreement on another matter.[1] This naturally makes us suspicious in the case of the Seven also, and when we look a little closer we find that our author yet again corrects himself; for, instead of making Stephen busy himself with distributing the gifts of love, he represents him as constantly preaching the word of God. And in the same way he speaks of Philip, not as an almoner, but as a preacher, and expressly mentions the name given him, descriptive of his office, in the words "Philip, the Evangelist, one of the Seven."[2] That sounds exceedingly like a parallel to "James, the Apostle, one of the Twelve;" and, perhaps, we must look upon all the Seven as preachers. The original occasion, then, upon which they came forward as representatives of the Greek school is certainly lost, and we must regard their appointment as almoners by the community and their consecration by the Apostles as a fiction.

We have frequently spoken of two schools in the community, but we must not suppose that as yet there

[1] Acts xv. 37 ff. compared with Galatians ii. 13, 14.
[2] Acts xxi. 8.

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was any distinctly marked and conscious difference of view between them. What difference there was, was rather felt and to some extent manifested in the mutual bearing of the parties, than clearly expressed. The great majority of the followers of Jesus were naturally more strict in the observances of external religion in the rigidly orthodox Jerusalem than his immediate associates had ever been in Galilee.[1] But the minority also clustered round a nucleus of personal disciples of Jesus who had joined him early or late in his ministry, and had perhaps grasped his principles better than the Twelve had done;[2] or if they had only heard and seen him during his stay in Jerusalem, yet the manner of his first appearance there, his sayings about renewing the Temple and about sacrifice, his castigation of the Pharisees, and much more besides, had sufficed to teach them his spirit;[3] and the minority which gathered round them moved with more freedom than the rest. Inclination and capacity, backed by a certain amount of general culture, helped towards this result. If they cherished but a languid interest in the temple service, and insisted exclusively upon conduct in harmony with the (moral) spirit of the Law, they felt that in doing so they were bringing their hearts and lives into sympathy with the prophets, and above all with the Master himself. They expected that when Jesus returned "the Law and the prophets" would be fulfilled in this moral sense, to the exclusion of all the commandments of men. Though they had not the least idea of detaching themselves from their people, yet we may gather from the discourse of Stephen, from what we are soon to hear of Philip, and from the course of events at Antioch, that they had largely overcome their

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 270—275, 298, 353 ff.
[2] See Vol. V., pp. 236, 251, 451.
[3] See pp. 12 ff., 23, 97, 36—40, and Vol. V., p. 280.

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national exclusiveness and were quite disposed to throw open the approach to the kingdom of God to others than Jews; and this result was due partly to their indifference to Levitical purity, which was the great wall of partition between Israel and the heathen, partly to their strong sense of the stubbornness displayed by Israel against Moses and the prophets, against Jesus and his witnesses. But all this does not imply that there was any sharp division or opposition between them and the Hebrew believers. Far from it. But it was they who first preached the exclusive importance of a life in the Master's spirit, and began to work out or apply the great principle involved in the recognition of the Crucified as the Messiah.[1]

And now that we understand the significance of this record and of the person of Stephen, and observe that Paul took an active part in his execution and in persecuting his companions, we cannot help thinking of the first martyr's work in connection with that of the Apostle of the gentiles himself. It is true that the charge preferred against Stephen, when interpreted by his own defence, indicates a position far below that to which Paul attained; for in Stephen and his friends we can see no trace of the great Apostle's doctrine concerning the Law, the crucifixion, and salvation by faith; of his piercing insight, his undaunted thoroughness, his definite breach with Judaism. Yet certainly Stephen was Paul's precursor, and we have now witnessed the beginning of the new work of the spirit, the first sign of life of the new community of the Christ, the clear indication of a new period in the history of the gospel.

The persecution set on foot against a portion of the community had, as usual, exactly the opposite effect to the one intended. When Stephen had been executed and several

[1] See p. 178.

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of the Grecians thrown into prison and dragged before the tribunal, a considerable number of the believers, feeling that they were no longer safe at the seat of orthodoxy, left Jerusalem for other Judæan cities, and in some cases even went to Samaria. And wherever they went or stayed, even if they did not come forward publicly as preachers, they could not help taking such opportunities as occurred of speaking on the subject that lay next their hearts; and thus they won fresh followers for Jesus; and little communities were formed in various places in the Jewish land.

The work of Philip the Evangelist, one of the Seven, is especially commemorated. He went to a city in Samaria, preached Jesus there as the Messiah, and met with the success that might have been anticipated from the state of religious excitement in which he found the Samaritans:[1] This was a great step in advance, and a proof of Philip's freedom of spirit. Indeed the writer of Acts himself desires us to look upon it as a step towards preaching to the gentiles; for though the Samaritans themselves claimed to be genuine Israelites, though they worshipped the Lord, practised circumcision, observed all the law of Moses, and lived in expectation of the Messianic kingdom, yet the Jews looked upon them as no better than heathens, and, what is more, there was not a Jew, there was not a member of the community, not even Philip himself, who would have thought for a moment of reckoning them amongst the posterity of Abraham, for whom the Messiah and his salvation were supposed to be exclusively destined. So now the narrow circle was broken through for the first time, and the approach to the Messianic kingdom thrown open to others than Jews. The honour of this decisive step belongs to Philip. Yet we must not for a moment suppose that he had definitely relinquished the idea of Israel's heredi-

[1] Vol. V., p. 125.

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tary right to the kingdom of God, or was prepared to go forward, without shrinking, and accept and preach, with full consciousness, the principle of the abandonment of all privileges of birth or nationality, the principle of equality, as opposed to the national exclusiveness and pride of the Jews. Philip's large-heartedness was fostered, as we have seen, by the freer conceptions he had embraced, and he was conscious of acting in the true spirit of the Master;[1] but he was far from realising the full significance of the step to which he was impelled by his love of Jesus and his zeal for the kingdom of God.

Details are wanting. Our author only cared to chronicle the fact itself. He does not even tell us the name of the city; he simply makes his usual statement that Philip performed miracles, such as the cure of many demoniacs, out of whom the devils came with piercing shrieks, and of many maimed and crippled ones, all which called general attention to his preaching, and caused great joy in the city.

After this we are told of another act of Philip's, which bears witness to the same free spirit. The supernatural circumstances by which it is surrounded were intended to make it more striking, and perhaps to clothe it with the divine sanction. An angel of the Lord, we are told, commanded Philip to leave Samaria and hasten southwards, along the least frequented of the roads from Jerusalem to Gaza. He obeyed, and in doing so he overtook the travelling carriage of a distinguished Ethiopian, the chamberlain and first treasurer of the Queen of Meroë, who was called (after the usual custom of these Ethiopian princesses) Candāce. Now, although this stranger was a heathen, that is to say was uncircumcised, yet he worshipped Israel's god, and was now returning from a visit to the Temple. There he sat, with a parchment-roll in his hand, reading to himself, but above

[1] Vol. V., p. 385.

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his breath, as he drove along. The roll contained the prophecies of Isaiah in the Greek version, and the traveller was reading the verses that describe how the servant of the Lord is struck down without complaint or resistance.[1] Prompted by the Holy Spirit, Philip walked beside the carriage, and asked the great officer whether he understood what he was reading; and he answered that he could not understand it without further instruction, begging him at the same time to take the seat beside him and explain whether the prophet was really speaking about himself or someone else. What better opening could there have been for the evangelist to speak of Jesus, in whom that passage of Scripture was fulfilled? He found a grateful hearer in the chamberlain; and when a few hours had sped by, he announced himself a convert, and desired to be baptised. They were close by a stream; the Ethiopian ordered the carriage to stop; the two descended, and Philip consecrated his companion as a future citizen of the kingdom of God. But just as they were stepping out of the water the Spirit of the Lord suddenly snatched away the preacher miraculously,[2] so that the other could not so much as take leave of him, but was left to continue his homeward journey full of deep joy in his new faith in Jesus. Meanwhile, Philip was transported to Ashdod, at a distance of five or six leagues, whence he journeyed through the cities near the sea-coast, preaching everywhere, till he came to Cæsarea, a city largely inhabited by heathens, where he took up his abode.

Still more important events remain. We heard just now of persecuted brethren scattered over Judæa and Samaria; but there were also many who passed the boundaries of Jewish land and went to Phœnicia, the island of Cyprus, and Antioch, the magnificant capital of Syria. Now where-

[1] See Vol. IV., pp. 110, 111.
[2] Compare Vol. III., pp. 183, 199.

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ever they went they preached their faith to the Jews of the place, and of course to them only. At last, however, certain Cyprians and Cyrenæans, who had formerly been attracted to Jerusalem by religious zeal, and were now expelled from it by religious rancour, settled in Antioch, and there began to speak to heathens on the subject of their faith, and to preach Jesus and his principles and kingdom to them. They experienced God's unmistakable support and blessing, we are told, so that great numbers believed, renounced their idolatry and superstition, and were converted to the Lord.—They were the first-fruits of the mighty harvest that the heathen world should yield!

What we said of Philip is still more applicable here. The step was of incalculable consequence; for the writer evidently means that these heathens were not compelled or even urged to submit to circumcision and other Jewish ordinances as a condition of their admittance. What freedom and boldness, what a fine spirit of humanity, what zeal for the cause of Jesus on the part of the preachers all this shows! We would gladly know more of them, but have only the name of one, Lucius the Cyrenæan; and at most can only conjecture that Barnabas the Cyprian was another. Yet, on the other hand, we must not suppose that these men had arrived at the conviction that the Law was annulled, that the distinction between Jew and heathen was abolished, and that henceforth faith must be the only condition of admission into the kingdom of God.[1] The glory of first discovering and preaching this remains with Paul. Indeed, it would be impossible to accept the statement that a community of Grecian Jews and uncircumcised converts was formed at Antioch in any such way as would overshadow the services of Paul or rob his Apostleship to the Gentiles of its originality.

[1] Compare Galatians ii. 13.

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Ere long we shall see the Apostle of the gentiles hurl down the wall of partition; but meanwhile our thoughts involuntarily turn to the second great condition which made it possible to preach the gospel in Greek society, the condition which must have moved the preachers already spoken of, and without which Paul, in spite of the might of his conviction, would have ploughed upon the rocks! This second condition was the sense of want on the part of the heathen world itself. The capacity for receiving the Gospel lay in the longing for a deeper knowledge of the truth, a purer worship of the Deity, a mightier support for the moral life, and a firmer foundation for hope in the future than the ancient and superannuated religions could give.[1] Heathendom was ready to hear of the God of Jesus and the kingdom Jesus came to establish.

Had not the gentile world been straining for deliverance, how could the religion of a crucified Jew have found acceptance with it? The heathens then did not fail on their side to press for admission; and it was to this pressure, perhaps, more than to anything else, that they owed their participation in the kingdom of God. This fact is set before our eyes in a miraculous story, from which we may perhaps make out the views of the liberal school before Paul as to the conversion of heathens. We will give it as it appears in the first Gospel, and therewith close this chapter, as we opened it, with an emblematic scene.

Jesus was once journeying in a heathen land, Phœnicia.[2] A woman of the country came to him and cried: "Have pity on me, Lord, thou son of David! my daughter is grievously afflicted by a demon." But Jesus did not answer a word. Then his disciples came to him and said: "Send her away, for she is shouting after us;" upon which he said: "I am only sent to the lost sheep of Israel's house." But then

[1] See Vol. V., p. 3. [2] Vol. V., pp. 360 ff.

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the woman fell at his feet and cried imploringly: "Lord! help me."—Jesus still refused. "We may not take the children's bread," he answered, "and throw it to the dogs;" on which she said: "No! Lord, but the dogs may have the fragments that fall from the table of their masters." Then Jesus yielded. "O woman! great is your faith," he exclaimed, "your prayer is granted." And the sufferer was healed.

The meaning of this story, which Mark reproduces with sundry modifications, designed for the most part to soften the harshness of the expressions, is easy to perceive. Against its literal truth we might urge the title of son of David given to Jesus by a heathen woman; the implication that his mission was to cure diseases, and that it would prejudice his own nation if he helped a heathen who happened to be thrown in his way; the repulsive harshness and national arrogance here attributed to the Christ; and, finally, the performance of the cure at a distance. All these difficulties disappear if we accept it symbolically. The Phœnician woman becomes the heathen world beseeching the Christ to rescue her children from the power of Satan.[1] In vain! The salvation of the kingdom of God is only offered to the children of the household (to Israel), not to the dogs (the heathens).[2] But she perseveres; she is content if she may but pick up the chance fragments that fall within her grasp; and her perseverance wins the day.

Observe that this healing from a distance, that is to say, this benefit conferred upon the heathen world by the emissaries of Jesus and not by him in person,[3] is as it were wrung from him, that is from his community; and that as yet there is not the least idea of placing the heathens on the same level with the Jews. But, at the same time, the

[1] Acts xxvi. 18. Compare Vol. V., pp. 412—414.
[2] See p. 43; Matthew vii. 6; 2 Peter ii. 22.
[3] See Vol. V., p. 396.

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longing for salvation on the part of the heathens gives the actual proof of their equality, nay, their superiority for a time, to the unbelieving Israel. We are now to see the Apostle of the heathens vindicating their rights, and realising the presentiment of Jesus.[1]

Chapter IV.

THE APOSTLE OF THE GENTILES.

Galatians I. 13—20; Acts IX. 1—30.

WHOM have we to thank for the fact that the name and the gospel of the crucified Galilæan were preached throughout the ancient world, triumphing alike over supreme indifference and furious hostility, over the brilliance of sarcastic wit and the bitterness of deadly hatred? Whose fault is it that the purpose of Jesus himself, who laboured to found the kingdom of God and not "a religion," was thwarted by the rise under his name of a new and separate religion, of the Christian church and the church's doctrines? — One answer serves for both these questions, for they indicate the twin results of the rise and work of Paul.

Of Paul! After Jesus, to whom he himself declared that he owed all he was and all he had, we surely are acquainted with no mightier personality than Paul's. By turns received with acclamation and loaded with scorn and hatred, Paul, with his giant spirit and his restless energy, whether comprehended or not, has directly or indirectly dominated the development of Christianity; and to this very day the great majority of believers have not derived their knowledge of the Master and the influence it exercises upon them direct from

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 385 ff., 301, 302.

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the fountain head, that is to say from the Jesus of history himself, but rather from the channels cut out by Paul in his conception and preaching of the Christ.

And now that we come to speak of Paul we have firmer ground beneath our feet than we have hitherto trodden; for we have access to genuine and perfectly trustworthy sources of information about him; and consequently his image stands before us in much sharper and clearer outlines than that of Jesus. Though many details, especially concerning his outward lot, are doubtful or unknown, yet his own words give us adequate knowledge of his character, his doctrine, his work, his struggles, and much else of extreme importance.

To begin with, we ask who he was; and we hear from his own mouth[1] that he was in every respect of purely Jewish origin, a fact to which he evidently attached no little weight before his conversion. Neither he nor any of his forefathers had belonged to the Greek-speaking Jews; from father to son they had all been Hebrews. Still less was there a single drop of foreign blood in his veins which could give a pretext for disputing his claim to be a true Israelite and member of God's chosen people. He could show the highest patent of nobility in his descent from Abraham, and the title it gave him as a son of the promise, an heir of the Messianic salvation.

Sprung from the tribe of Benjamin, circumcised on the eighth day after his birth, he had been brought up in strict and stern compliance with the ordinances of the Law and the tradition, for which he early displayed unbounded reverence and burning zeal. He threw himself with heart and soul into the Pharisaic camp. We gather from the line of argument adopted in his letters, and from the scholastic

[1] Romans xi. 1; 2 Corinthians xi. 22; Galatians i. 13, 14; Philippians iii. 4–6. Compare Vol. V., pp. 43, 114, 115, 118, 119, 354; and Vol. VI., p. 193.

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learning which he had at his command, that he was educated as a Rabbi, in which case he would follow the usual custom of learning a trade, which subsequently enabled him to provide for his own support on his missionary journeys. We think of him as a city child, unacquainted with the free, fresh scenes of nature; and we know that he could not boast of a powerful frame, an impressive cast of features, or other external advantages.

On the other hand, he could afterwards declare that concerning the Law he had been irreproachable in his observance of the commandments, and was prominent as a zealot amongst his contemporaries and associates. He was a specially ardent champion for the maintenance of the oral law, and against everything that might infringe on its authority. Not content with all this, he was stirred by his zeal for Judaism to take a prominent part in the persecution of the community of Jesus. The Master himself he had probably never seen, and perhaps had heard little and taken no special notice of him during his life. He certainly took no part in his death, and was not present on the occasion. It follows, therefore, that he was not in the city of the Temple at the Passover in the year 35 A.D. At what period he became acquainted with the sect of Nazarenes we do not know; but whenever it was, he was so deeply shocked in his inmost soul by the preaching of the Crucified that, when the false doctrine spread and the Greek Jews that it counted amongst its adherents began to attract attention, he heartily rejoiced in the violent measures taken against them, and even gave them a powerful stimulus himself. He repeatedly calls himself a persecutor of the community, a devastator of the faith.

So much we learn directly or indirectly from his own letters. The writer of Acts gives several additional particulars, telling us that he bore the Jewish name of Saul, as well as his better known name of Paul, that he was a tentmaker—

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a trade, observe, which was poorly paid, but left the mind free for deep reflection—and that he had inherited the rights of Roman citizenship[1] from his father. How the latter had acquired them we are not told. But when the same author tells us that Paul was born in Tarsus, in Cilicia, it is difficult to reconcile the statement with the Apostle's own repeated assertion that he was a Hebrew—a Hebrew born of Hebrews. The celebrated ecclesiastical father, Jerome, noticed this contradiction, and therefore followed another tradition which pointed to the Jewish city of Giscala as the apostle's birthplace, and supposed that he had removed to Tarsus as a child. This only very partially removes the difficulty. It makes very little difference, however, whether he saw the light at Tarsus or not; for though this city was a considerable place, rejoicing in special immunities, a centre of commercial industry, a seat of philosophy and general culture sometimes mentioned in a breath with Athens and Alexandria, and the cradle of sundry men of distinction, yet in any case Paul's education and development were quite uninfluenced by Greek culture. He was a stranger to Greek philosophy, literature, and eloquence, and even after he had spent years in the society of Greeks he still had great difficulty in writing their language, and nearly always dictated his letters.[2] Finally, we are told in Acts that he was educated in Jerusalem, in the school of Gamaliel, and was still young at the time of Stephen's martyrdom. Against this it may be urged that he shows no signs of having paid any attention to the Baptist, and was not at Jerusalem when Jesus was crucified.[3]

What changed this persecutor of the community into the most zealous of all the preachers of that faith which he had formerly laid waste?—To this great question we have un-

[1] Vol. V., p 2.

[2] Galatians vi. 11; Philemon *v.* 19; Romans xvi. 22; 1 Corinthians xvi. 21.

[3] Philemon *v.* 9.

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fortunately no direct answer from the man himself. He simply tells us in general terms that God had destined and formed him from his birth for the Apostolate, and emphatically denies that he was brought to better thoughts or that his views of the gospel had been determined or modified after his conversion by the influence, the preaching, or the explanations of any Apostle, evangelist, or other believer whatever. We also note that he was at Damascus when the great revolution in his faith took place, and that when Jesus, whom he had previously regarded as a blasphemer, became to him the Christ, the son of God, he very soon, if not immediately, felt impelled to take up the mission to the heathens as his special task.[1]

The book of Acts, on the contrary, goes into detail upon this point. So deeply does the author feel the importance of vindicating against the Jewish-Christians Paul's immediate call to his office by the Christ, that he gives the story of his conversion three times over; once in the course of the history, and twice afterwards in addresses which he puts upon the lips of Paul.[2]

When Saul had witnessed the stoning of the first martyr, says the book of Acts, he was filled with rage against the community, broke in upon the faithful from house to house, armed with the high priest's authority, dragged men and even women before the authorities to be hurled into prison, rejoiced when they were put to death, had many of them scourged in the synagogues, or compelled them to revile Jesus as a false prophet, and even followed up the persecution into foreign cities. Thus he asked and obtained a written commission from the high priest or the Sanhedrin to present to the chiefs of the synagogues at Damascus, eight days' journey from Jerusalem, hoping, with such credentials, to succeed in

[1] Galatians i. 12, 15—17.
[2] Acts ix. 1 ff., xxii. 3 ff., xxvi. 9 ff.

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bringing any followers of the Nazarene he might find there, whether man or woman, in chains to Jerusalem. But as he was on his way, and had almost reached Damascus, there suddenly shone and streamed about him a light before which the blaze of the mid-day sun grew pale. It was the divine glory that surrounds the exalted Christ. He fell to the earth and heard a voice cry: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?"—"Who art thou, Lord?" he replied in terror.—"I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest," said the voice. "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks;" (that is to say, "it is vain for thee to endeavour to resist my power, like an obstinate bullock kicking against the ox-goad.")—"Lord, what wouldst thou have me do?" he asked.—"Stand up," was the reply, "and go into Damascus, where the task laid on thee by God will be told thee." Then Saul arose, but the heavenly glory had struck him blind, and his companions had to lead him by the hand. They took him into the city to what was called the Straight-street, and to the house of a certain Judas, where he spent three days in contemplation and prayer, in total blindness, and too much depressed, ashamed, and bewildered to eat or drink. Then, as he prayed, he had a vision in which a certain Ananias, a follower of Jesus, came to him to lay his hands upon him and restore his sight. At the very same moment the Lord appeared to this Ananias himself, who was a man of rigid piety according to the Law, and was held in high esteem by the Jews of Damascus. He commanded him to go to Saul, and told him in what street and house he would find him. Ananias pleaded that Saul was a furious persecutor; but the Lord only repeated his command the more emphatically, and assured him that this former adversary was to be a chosen instrument for the preaching of the Christ to heathens, to kings, and to Israelites; and would brave sufferings both manifold and heavy in the cause. Ananias obeyed, came to

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Saul in the name of Jesus, and laid his hands upon him. Then it seemed as if scales fell from the eyes of Saul, and when Ananias told him of his mission and the glorious task that awaited him, he rose up and was baptised, and then refreshed himself with food.

So far the author of Acts. We have combined his three narratives into one, so as to miss nothing, but may notice that he shows great carelessness in saying on one occasion that Saul's companions fell down with him to the earth on seeing the heavenly glory, and on another that they stood still in bewilderment; on one that they heard the voice but saw no one, on another that they saw the light but heard no one speak. In other respects the emphasis falls upon different features in the narrative, according to the audience and the purpose which have drawn it forth.[1]—As for its credibility, we cannot believe that the Christ really appeared to Paul and conversed with him, as the author represents, and struck him blind by his glory. Again, we know, upon Paul's own authority, that the part here played by Ananias, if not his very existence, is a pure fiction; for he tells us expressly that no man whatsoever exercised any influence upon this crisis of his life. But in spite of all this it is not impossible that a trustworthy tradition lies at the foundation of this story of the vision near Damascus, a tradition drawn from Paul's own preaching, but afterwards elaborated and embellished; for we may regard it as almost certain that he saw the exalted Christ in a vision at the time of his conversion.[2] Paul himself of course believed that the Christ had come in person from above, had revealed himself to him, and suddenly arrested him in his career; but we, on the other hand, feel bound to attempt the explanation both of the vision and the conversion from Paul's own inner life. The materials

[1] See chapter x.

[2] 1 Corinthians xv. 8, ix. 1; compare 2 Corinthians xii. 1.

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are supplied by his own letters, and especially the information they give us as to his general conceptions and style of argument, his character and physical constitution, his relations with the Twelve, and other such circumstances.

Let us give a concise account of what we gather from these sources.

Why was Paul such a furious persecutor of the community? Could he conceive of any more joyful and glorious news than that which had called the community into life and still sustained it, to which its spokesmen and the very fact of its existence bore ceaseless and emphatic testimony? Could anything be more welcome to him than the news that he who was to mount the throne of the Messiah had come in very truth, as the fullest pledge[1] of the instant dawn of the golden age? No! He could conceive no news more glorious—if only he could have believed it! But the Nazarene had died upon the cross, and thereby had proved himself a lying prophet.—Before as well as after Paul's conversion the death of Jesus on the cross was unquestionably the one point upon which the whole thing seemed to him to hinge.[2] One would judge from his letters that Jesus only came for the sake of being crucified and raised up from the shadow-land; and just as the cross was afterwards his glory, so it was his one great stumbling-block while he still retained his Jewish Messianic beliefs. Surely this preaching of a Messiah who had suffered an infamous death must have appeared to him as something worse than an absurdity—as a positive abomination. Even the Twelve of course saw that the cross was in direct contradiction with the traditional doctrine of retribution and the national expectations; and the truth was that they had never been able to remove this contradiction.

[1] See Vol. V., p. 81.

[2] 1 Corinthians i. 18, 23, 24, ii. 2; Galatians vi. 14, &c.

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All they could do was to throw the blame upon the people and their leaders, declare that the resurrection had annulled the cross, appeal to the Scripture in proof that it had all been preordained and foretold by God,[1] and probably add that the death of Jesus had been a sacrifice of atonement for the people's want of obedience[2] (as indicated in the prophecy about the servant of the Lord), while at the same time it was the sacrifice to initiate the glorious kingdom of God.[3] But Paul was far too keen sighted and deep thinking a theologian to be content with so superficial and undecided a view. If we put ourselves into the Jewish attitude of mind, that is to say, if we see and endeavour to demonstrate a special deed of God—and therefore a special divine purpose—in such an event, we shall soon perceive that a philosophic nature like Paul's, accustomed to weigh and to think out the consequences of every thing, could not rest in such evasions. For if they represented the case truly, then this death, the death of the son of God upon the cross, would after all be largely accidental and arbitrary, and the Christ would have died without any sufficient cause—would have died *for nothing*.[4] Paul saw that whoever accepted this Nazarene whom the Law had condemned and loaded with its curse, placed himself outside the Law by that very fact, and renounced his allegiance to it. The Greek-speaking members of the community were already beginning to show what it must come to. In fact, the persecutor had at least a presentiment that if the crucified leader were really the Christ, then the great and vital question, "How am I to be justified before God?" would have to receive a very different answer from the one it had hitherto met. Not: "By strict observance of the Law of the Lord," but: "By accepting in

[1] See pp. 141, 154, 168, 179—181, 197, 198, 208.
[2] 1 Corinthians xv. 3; Revelation v. 9, &c.; compare Vol. IV., pp. 109—115, 235. [3] See p. 78. [4] Galatians ii. 21.

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faith what God has given me in this death." In that case the cross would open a new way to salvation; and God would have said to men on Golgotha: "To accomplish your own justification is an impossibility. Here I myself am offering the great and only sacrifice of atonement not only for individual shortcomings, but as a substitute for your own righteousness." In that case it would be impossible and impious to abide by the Law, for whoever sought salvation by the Law would be admitting that his Messiah had died for nothing.—And what must this lead to? Anyone who became an adherent of the Crucified, in giving up salvation by the Law must give up everything, including all his national privileges, with it; for he must look upon Jew and heathen as alike before God; he must regard the partition wall between them as thrown down; he could have no possible reason for confining the Christ and his salvation to Abraham's posterity, which would have no special merit more than others; for the divine grace would be the sole means of deliverance to all alike. In a word, the preaching of a crucified Messiah drew with it the overthrow of the whole Jewish religion. Away, then, with so pestilent a heresy!

Such were the thoughts which rose before the mind of Paul; not at first, of course, in perfect clearness and in all their scope, but more as a presentiment, vague at first, but gradually gaining distinctness. What choice had he but to persecute? And yet, after all, was it so absolutely and obviously impossible that God had really sent a new and higher revelation in this death upon the cross? Had he himself found peace, real peace, in this righteousness of the Law? Did it quench his burning thirst for truth and holiness, give rest to his tossed and harassed soul, and reconcile him with his God? Alas, it did not! His unswerving loyalty to truth, his intense religious feeling, forced this answer from him.—And then as he fought against these

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Nazarenes, not only with outward force, but with the weapons of argument and Scripture, as he stood up against them in the synagogues to drive them to bay with his incisive arguments, new difficulties rose before him. There in the Scripture stood the suffering servant of the Lord by the side of the mighty son of David!—He himself yearned for the Messianic salvation; but he well knew that it could only be given to a righteous people; and was Israel either righteous now, or in the way of becoming so? Alas, no! Then what if God, inasmuch as the previously offered and accepted means of salvation, viz., the Law, had proved inadequate, had really opened this new way? What if the great Redeemer and Comforter, before appearing in his glory, had indeed died a death of atonement, and so had opened the kingdom of God to the unrighteous, and put all who believed in him into their true relationship towards God by the force of this their faith?—And did not all that he heard of Jesus from the mouth of his followers, his golden sayings and his holy life, his gentleness and power, his self-consecration and obedience, make an impression of perfect righteousness upon him which he could not shake off?—No! it was impossible. The Law and the cross were and must remain in irreconcilable contradiction. It was impossible. For it would involve the annulling of the dispensation ordained by God for salvation, and the cancelling of Israel's election.—But then if for a moment Jesus were supposed really to be the Messiah, would not the cross be as much ordained by God for salvation as the Law had been? And was it so certain that the calling of the heathen was no part of the divine scheme?—Well, be all that as it might, what really settled the whole matter was that the cross itself proved this Nazarene not to be the Messiah. That cross was an unmistakable judgment of God against him, was the irrefragable proof, which all might read, that God had rejected him.—Now his own disciples

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admitted that all this would be unanswerable had not God raised him up again! 'But,' said they, 'he rose again and we saw him! Peter, the Twelve, more than five hundred brethren at once, James, all the Apostles. He appeared to us in glory from on high!'—A lie! cried the persecutor. But could he really abide by this answer? A lie? There was nothing of the impostor in what he had picked up or heard about the Master, nor was there any appearance of deceit in what he saw of the disciples. Suppose he really had risen! Then all would be clear enough. Why should not it be true?

No! it could not be true! He would not suffer the thought for a single moment. His zeal for the Law and the tradition waked with fresh force within him. Away with these heretics! Search them out; force them to revile this Jesus! and if they will not, hurl them into prison and condemn them to death! His fury was redoubled by the very fact of his vacillation.—Now Paul was a man of nervous and excitable temperament, an impetuous and fiery spirit in a weak body. More than once, in times of great perplexity or at dangerous crises, his system was so overwrought that he became deaf and blind to the external world, while visions or revelations were for a time vouchsafed to him, and utter prostration subsequently paid the price of the strain.[1] Moreover this unwearied and impetuous zealot for what he held to be the truth of God, was of anything but a cruel disposition. On the contrary, the utmost tenderness and depth of feeling and the truest humanity were a part of his character, and he must have done violence to his own nature in becoming a persecutor.[2] And when he witnessed the joyful security, the exalted might of faith, the peaceful courage in the face of death which characterised the martyrs,[3] how

[1] Compare Galatians ii. 2; 2 Corinthians x. 10, xii. 1 ff.
[2] 2 Corinthians xi. 29; Romans ix. 2, 3. [3] See p. 198.

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could he help being constantly shaken in his purpose and his conviction?—Suppose this Jesus really had risen again and appeared to his friends! In that case he, Paul, had been fighting against God up to that hour, and was fighting against Him still! But it could not be! He must not and would not admit the thought!—Meanwhile, as he set his teeth against the nascent conviction, the image of the risen Master, shining with the glory of heaven laid hold of his imagination in spite of himself. The strain increased. Determined to smother his own doubts, he journeyed to the distant Damascus to persecute the fugitives even there! On his way all that he had thought and lived and fought through rushed once more upon his soul. That question, "What if he really did?" forced itself into his mind, do what he would. The witness of the Scripture, the accounts he had heard of the Nazarene, the experiences of his own heart, the fervid longing of his own soul, the invincible faith and courage of the disciples, the scenes of terror which he himself was on the point of renewing, the image of the glorified one as he was said to have appeared—all these things chased each other through his brain. This resurrection! It was there that the whole matter lay!—Damascus was already before him; but the tension had now reached its limit! It was as if the heavenly glory burst upon his straining eye, while the words broke upon his ear: "Saul, Saul! why persecutest thou me?"

The Apostle of the gentiles was born.

We have endeavoured to throw light upon Paul's gospel,[1] that is to say, his characteristic and original insight into the Christian truth by his conversion, and again to explain his conversion by the nature of his gospel. The truth of the explanation, considered as a mental history, is guaranteed in

[1] Romans ii. 16, xvi. 25; 2 Corinthians iv. 3, xi. 4; Galatians i. 11, 12, 6, ii. 2, 7.

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its main features by this harmony. Paul's persecuting zeal shows that from the first he perceived that belief in a crucified Messiah was incompatible with the Jewish religion. And his special call to preach the son of God to the heathens is an equally strong proof of the same fact.

But we must not infer that when the great change had taken place within him he was at once perfectly clear as to his faith, knew what to think upon every point, and, in a word, had arrived at such consistent and satisfactory views that he was prepared to preach the Christ immediately. It was impossible! The shock was so violent, the revolution seemed so enormous, the necessity of recovering himself—of reckoning with his own past self, of finding his bearings in this new religious world—was so great, that he must certainly have withdrawn for some considerable time. For in the first place, much of what we have said as to the significance and consequences of faith in the Crucified may not have risen before the mind of Paul with any sharpness of outline until after his conversion; and at any rate, as long as he rejected the faith, many of its consequences can only have been dimly felt by him; nor can they have combined into a distinct and definite conception until that faith had become his own, and had been fortified in his heart against all assaults of doubt. Hitherto he had regarded these things with a hostile eye, and had only forced them to their results to show how bad they were. It was very different to think them over and think them through with sympathetic earnestness now that they had acquired the intensest fascination for him. And since he never doubted for a moment, to the very last, in the divine origin of the Law and the prophets, he must have been keenly sensible of a difficulty which imperatively demanded a solution. It was the difficulty of bringing God's ancient revelation into its true connection with the new one, and so explaining the significance and

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intention of the first as to make its transitory office consistent with its divine character. Only by solving this problem could he gain a conviction as firm, as compact, and as completely rounded as the one he had relinquished.

At the same time he knew very well that it would be useless to seek the light he needed from men, from flesh and blood as he expressed it.[1] That was certain. He was not at all the man to surrender himself to another's guidance and walk by another's light. Besides, even had it been otherwise, he could not possibly have expected any help from the Twelve; for they still failed to see even as much as his eyes, quickened by hostility, had discerned before his conversion, when he was still a persecutor. They still failed to see that whoever became an adherent of the Crucified had broken with the Law, and must regard the cross as the greatest deed of God.—So he left the busy Damascus and betook himself to Arabia, to some quiet place in the neighbourhood. Here he remained a considerable time, and the interval of repose bore rich fruits for his inner life, so that when he returned to active work he had in truth become a new man, and was fully equipped with his new conviction. During the next five and twenty years he was far from standing still. He expanded and consolidated his views in the midst of his restless activity, and indeed in consequence of it, and more especially in the course of the hot controversies in which he was involved. But it was now that the great revolution took place, and that the formation of his views and character alike was completed in principle and in essence.

We must remember that this transition involved a complete change in the foundations alike of his religious and his moral life, and therefore an enormous strain, not only upon his intellectual but still more upon his moral powers. Was it not a sublime resolve, involving the stern suppression

[1] Galatians i. 16, 17; compare Vol. V., p. 408.

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of all self-love and self-satisfaction, thus to break with his own past, unconditionally to relinquish all the results of his services, all in which he had hitherto gloried, to which he had devoted himself with heart and soul, and in which he had excelled so many of his companions, henceforth to find shame and humiliation in the persecuting zeal that had been his glory ?[1] The substance of his preaching henceforth ran : "Not by the Law but by grace, not by works but by faith, we are saved; and therefore all distinction between Jew and heathen is henceforth abolished!" And this shows that the Jew within him had died for ever—but not, we may be sure, without causing him the deepest trouble and affliction of soul, not without a long and desperate wrestle for the very life. All this he ascribed to the influence of the cross upon him. His whole soul turned to the Christ who had suffered himself to be nailed to the cross in obedience to God and in love to mankind, and had taken pity upon him, his enemy and persecutor. Nay, he felt so closely bound to him that it was as if he had himself been crucified with him or in his person, had died with him to the Law, to the world, and to sin; had risen with him from the regions of the dead, henceforth a new man, living like the Christ, and with him, to God alone. He felt himself in such close communion with Christ that it was as if his former self, the self-seeking Jew, had gone, and as if Christ himself lived henceforth in him.[2] Did not the spirit of Christ—and what was that but Christ himself—work in him and control him more and more ? The life he now lived was in truth a new, a holy, an eternal life, free from the Law with its restraints and curse. He no longer knew anything of a Law-giver in heaven whom he must serve in trembling, but only of a Father whose grace was his all, love of whom was now the principle of his obedience and of his whole moral life, whose

[1] Philippians iii. 4 ff.; 2 Corinthians xi. 21 ff.; Galatians i. 13, 14.
[2] Galatians vi. 14, ii. 19, 20; 2 Corinthians v. 14 ff.; Romans vi. 4 ff.

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spirit dwelt in him as the pledge of a blessed future. The Law could not form man to obedience, for man's carnal nature—the fountain and the seat of sin—made the Law powerless. But when Christ laid aside upon the cross the flesh, the carnal nature, which he had received at his birth, then upon that same cross the carnal nature of all who should cleave to him and become one with him was as good as slain, and with the flesh the power of sin was destroyed. Then they might not, and could not, fail any longer to live for God by the Spirit.[1]—Thus the whole inner life of Paul hinged upon the contrast between Law and faith, sin and grace, flesh and spirit, Adam and Christ.[2] Adam was the representative of the old, carnal, sinful race of man; Christ of the new, spiritual, and holy race that would be revealed in all its glory at the coming of the kingdom of God. To Christ, this second Adam, Paul ascribed a pre-existence in heaven, as the son of God or type of humanity, before he took upon himself the carnal nature in order to redeem the posterity of Adam.[3] Like all the believers, he expected him to return from heaven shortly, to complete the work of salvation. Meanwhile it was his task to preach this Christ to the world, especially to the heathen world, hitherto deprived of the glad tidings, so that when he should come he might find the world prepared and believing.

How long Paul stayed in Arabia we do not know; but it must have been several months, and perhaps a year or two. He was probably residing all this time in some village on the great plain that stretches south-west of the river Euphrates, and is known as the Arabian desert. There he supported himself by his trade, while his heart and head were cease-

[1] Romans viii. 1 ff.; 2 Corinthians i. 22; Galatians v. 5.

[2] 1 Corinthians xv. 21 ff., 45 ff.; Romans v. 12 ff.

[3] Galatians iv. 4; 1 Corinthians xv. 47; 2 Corinthians viii. 9; Romans viii. 3; Philippians ii. 5 ff.

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lessly busied with deep speculations, with the examination of the Scripture, with the internal conflict of his soul, and with prayer to God. As soon as he had come to a clear and definite conclusion he came back from his retirement—a new man in very truth—and began the work of his Lord. He chose Damascus, the nearest great city—Damascus which he had once before approached upon so different a mission—as the scene of his first labours. And here for the first time accordingly the Christ was preached to the heathen world by a preacher who distinctly knew what he was doing, and did it on the strength of an established principle. For though Paul may have chosen the synagogue as his basis, there is no reasonable doubt that from the first he appeared as the Apostle of the heathens.[1] But it appears that before long his preaching was impeded and his life, or at least his liberty, very seriously threatened, so that he determined to fly. He tells us himself[2] that the governor of King Aretas, to whose territory Damascus, just then at any rate, belonged, had set watches at the gates of the city to seize him. But he succeeded in reaching the house of a friend who lived on the walls, and thence, under cover of the darkness, he was let down in a basket from a window in the wall, and escaped. Then he went to Jerusalem. He had not been there since his conversion, now three years ago. He had not the least intention of preaching in the city, for the field of his labours lay not there; but he desired to make acquaintance with Peter, the most prominent of the inner circle of the friends and disciples of Jesus. So he stayed with him in his own house, but he met none of the other Apostles, only James, the brother of Jesus, who stood with Peter at the head of the community of Jerusalem. It seems, therefore, that he kept his visit a secret, and avoided contact both with his

[1] Galatians i. 16.

[2] 2 Corinthians xi. 32, 33; compare Vol. V., p. 156.

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former associates and with the community. After a visit of only fifteen days he left his host and the city of the Temple, again to devote all his powers to his task as the apostle of the heathen, this time in the regions of Syria and Cilicia.

But before accompanying Paul upon his journey, we must mention that the writer of Acts gives an account of what took place after the conversion, which differs widely, and evidently not by accident, from that of the apostle himself. He omits everything that Paul urges in proof of his originality and independence of the Twelve. His retirement, his stay in Arabia, his three years' absence from Jerusalem, the privacy of his intercourse with Peter, all disappear without a trace! He is made to come forward at Damascus, without any interval, and begin preaching that Jesus is the Christ. Moreover, his preaching is directed to the Jews, who are full of amazement to hear him say these things, and since they cannot refute him make a murderous design against his life. He escapes, as above described, and goes to Jerusalem to join the community there. But the brethren are suspicious of him until Barnabas introduces him to the Apostles, tells them how Christ appeared to the persecutor, and how he has since been preaching at Damascus. Thus introduced and recommended, he associates on intimate terms with the Twelve, preaches with them in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood,[1] and directs his special efforts to the conversion of the Greek Jews; but they plot against his life, upon which the brethren safely convey him to Cæsarea, and send him to his native city, Tarsus.—This account, as we see at once, contradicts that of Paul himself in almost every particular; though the apostle certifies the truth of his own statement in the most solemn manner: "As for what I am writing, behold! I declare before God that I lie not." Else-

[1] Acts ix. 28 (read "coming in and going out of Jerusalem"), compare xvi. 20.

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where,[1] in a speech he puts upon the lips of Paul, the author still more evidently betrays his design of making his readers suppose that Paul did not begin preaching to the heathens at once and of his own motion, but only in consequence of the obstinate resistance of the Jews, and very much against his own desires and intentions; for he makes him say that after his conversion he returned to Jerusalem, and that as he was praying in the Temple he saw the Christ, in a transport, and that he commanded him to leave the city at once, for he would not get a hearing there. He urged that since the people of Jerusalem had known him as a furious persecutor, they could not fail to attach importance to his preaching now; but it was all in vain; he must travel far away, to the heathen!

Chapter V.

THE FIRST MISSION TO THE HEATHEN.

Galatians I. 21—24; Acts XI. 22—30, XII. 24—XIV.; Luke X. 1 ff., 17—20.

PAUL himself only gives us a few of the leading facts that relate to his appearing as a missionary in the regions of Syria and Cilicia, to his preaching and his fortunes there, or in general to the opening period of his labours as the apostle of the gentiles; and even what he does tell us comes out for the most part incidentally. The only point upon which he lays any stress is the absolute independence which always characterised his work. He did not stand in any position of dependence whatever to the Twelve or the primitive community. He had received no commission, no instructions, no hints from them, and what is more he did not once go to Jerusalem during the whole

[1] Acts xxii. 17—21.

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of this period of eleven years. Very possibly he was not in any kind of communication with the believers there; for when we read that the communities of Judæa, to whom he was not so much as known by face, hearing that the former persecutor was now a preacher of faith in the Crucified, glorified God in him, we cannot help suspecting that they were but imperfectly acquainted with the substance of his preaching, for otherwise their satisfaction would have been far from unmingled. Paul informs us further that his work was richly blessed—an unmistakable sign of the divine approval—so that at the close of these eleven years his gospel was spread in many quarters amongst the heathen, and he had established numerous communities.[1] His head-quarters were at Antioch.[2] Of his numerous fellow-labourers he only mentions three: namely, Barnabas, Titus, a born heathen, whom he had probably converted himself, since he certainly was not subjected either to the Law or to circumcision, and Timotheus, a convert of his own and afterwards his frequent travelling companion.[3] As we go on we shall frequently meet with these three men, as well as other friends and assistants of Paul's.

The book of Acts makes up by its fulness for the meagreness of Paul's own statements, and fortunately it contains much that we may safely accept as true concerning this period. But this does not apply to its version of the beginning of the mission, for there the originality of Paul's gospel is again obscured and his own statements contradicted. We are told that Barnabas was sent to Antioch by the primitive community, in consequence of a report that a body of converted heathens had been formed there,[4] and that he rejoiced in this extension of the gospel and confirmed the

[1] Galatians ii. 2, 7, 8. [2] Galatians ii. 11, 13.
[3] Galatians ii. 1, 3, 13; 1 Corinthians iv. 17. Compare 2 Corinthians ii. 13, &c. [4] See p. 209.

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new disciples in their faith. But as their numbers rapidly increased he went to Tarsus to find Saul, and brought him back with him to the capital of Syria, where they both took part in the meetings of the faithful for a full year, and instructed a great multitude.—The interposition of Barnabas, by whose side at first Saul takes a second place, is open to almost as great suspicion here as in the passage where he is represented as introducing Saul to the Apostles; and this early interference with the community at Antioch on the part of the believers at Jerusalem, dispatching Barnabas as their plenipotentiary, cannot be accepted with any confidence.—After the end of that year, continues the author, there came certain prophets to Antioch from the city of the Temple. One of these inspired men, whose name was Agabus, foretold a universal famine. So the believers determined, each according to his means, to make contributions to alleviate the sufferings that threatened the communities in Judæa, and to send the money to their elders. Barnabas and Saul brought it over just at the time of the martyrdom of James and the imprisonment and deliverance of Peter, and when they had acquitted themselves of their task they returned to their own sphere of labour, taking with them a certain John Mark, probably the same who is elsewhere called the nephew of Barnabas.[1]—It is true that in the fourth year of Claudius (44 A.D.) there was a famine in Judæa, though not all over the world; but Paul was never at Jerusalem during the whole period now under discussion. The sequel of the history will make the origin and purpose of this misrepresentation quite clear.[2]

But our author is perfectly right in bringing out the extreme importance of Antioch as the base and centre of Paul's work, and of the conversion of the heathens generally, in this important initial period. Here, he tells us, the dis-

[1] Colossians iv. 10. Compare p. 187. [2] See chapter x.

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ciples first received the name of *Christians;* by which he means that here the gospel first detached itself from Judaism and asserted its place in the public estimation as a new and independent movement. And it is certainly a fact that whereas the earliest confessors of Jesus at Jerusalem gradually fell more and more completely under the influence of the synagogue, as we shall presently see, Antioch became the true cradle and nursery of Christianity. Here, under the influence of Paul, Christianity sprang into life as a new religion.—In a certain sense this name of *Christian* owed its origin to a blunder. As *Herodian* was derived from Herod and *Pompeian* from Pompey, so *Christian* was derived from Christ, under the erroneous impression that it was a proper name; whereas it was really, of course, nothing but the Greek translation of Messiah (anointed), and simply indicates the rank of Jesus as monarch in the kingdom of God. This name was given to the believers by their heathen fellow-citizens in mockery, because they were always speaking of Christ as their lord, but they themselves soon adopted the name as a badge of honour. It was a matter of importance to the new religious movement to possess a name and a flag of its own, so to speak. Some scholars think the name must have been coined at Rome, and not at Antioch, because of the Latin termination *an*.—Finally, we may remark that Antioch was the first city in the world after Rome and Alexandria, was the capital of the East, had half a million inhabitants, and was a centre of Greek culture. It was in every way qualified for the part it had to play in the history of Christianity. But we must not suppose that the community consisted entirely of heathens, whether Greeks or Syrians, for the numerous Jewish population also contributed its share. All the believers, however, held brotherly intercourse with one another;[1] circumcision and the laws as to

[1] Galatians ii. 12, 13, 16.

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food and cleanliness gave place to faith; the life of love superseded the narrow worship of forms; and national exclusiveness was expelled by the common hope in the Christ and his salvation.

But now let us listen to the author of Acts without further interrupting him!

The leaders of the community—whether prophets who spoke by the Spirit in inspired words, or teachers who provided instruction—were Barnabas, Simeon Niger (that is *the black*) Lucius of Cyrene, Menahem, foster brother or playfellow of Herod Antipas, and Saul. Now, as they were all conscientiously performing their tasks, the command came to them by divine inspiration to separate Barnabas and Saul for the work to which the Holy Spirit had called them. It was a missionary journey; and the two were consecrated to the task by the laying on of hands, with prayer and fasting.

John Mark accompanied them as their attendant, to perform baptisms, and do other subordinate work; and they embarked at Seleucia for Cyprus, the native country of Barnabas and other Christians of Antioch. They landed at Salamis, where they preached in the synagogues; and then they travelled through the island from east to west till they came to Paphos, where the Roman Governor resided. Now Sergius Paulus, who held the post of governor at the time, was a discerning man, and he summoned Paul and Barnabas into his presence and lent an ear to their preaching of Christ. But a certain Jewish magician and false prophet, Barjesus, or Elymas as he called himself (this name being the Arabic for *sage*), was staying with the governor, and as he was afraid of losing his influence, he opposed the new comers, and tried to make the Roman adverse to the faith. But Saul rebuked the wicked deceiver with the utmost severity and struck him with temporal blindness, thereby removing the

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last trace of hesitation from the governor's mind. Here we may notice that Saul is henceforth called by his Roman name of Paul, as appropriate to the apostle of the heathens, and perhaps also to commemorate the conversion of Sergius Paulus, the first distinguished heathen convert. Henceforth, too, both on this journey and afterwards, Paul becomes the principal actor.

At Paphos they embarked again and landed at Perge, in Pamphylia; but here John deserted them and went back to Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas, nothing daunted, continued their journey northwards till they reached Antioch-in-Pisidia. Here they went to the synagogue upon the sabbath, and after the passages from the Law and Prophets had been read they were invited by the superintendent to address the congregation.[1] Paul began, and reminded them of all God's benefits to Israel from the time of bondage in Egypt down to the days of David, and then spoke of Jesus as the promised Saviour of David's house, preceded and announced by John the Baptist, and now preached to them, the Jews and proselytes of Asia. The people of Jerusalem and their leaders had indeed condemned this Jesus, innocent as he was, had given him to Pilate to be put to death, and had buried him. All this they had done in their ignorance, though in accordance with the predictions of the Scripture. But God had raised him up again; he had appeared to his faithful friends, and was now being preached in that synagogue as the fulfilment of God's promises in the psalms and in the prophets,[2] especially by his resurrection. Through him, therefore, there was forgiveness of sins, and in all those respects in which the law of Moses fell short of justifying man, he might be justified by God through faith in Christ. But woe to him who rejected him!—After this discourse

[1] Compare Vol. V., pp. 178, 179.
[2] Psalms ii. 7, xvi. 10; Isaiah lv. 3.

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Paul and Barnabas left the synagogue, but not till the urgent request of their hearers had drawn from them a promise to renew their preaching on the following sabbath. Many Jews and proselytes went with them at once and were completely converted. Next week almost the whole city had assembled at the house of prayer. This offended the Jews, who desired to exclude the heathens from the Messianic salvation. So they opposed Paul and reviled Jesus. Then the two preachers roundly declared that, though the gospel must certainly be offered first to the Jews upon every occasion, yet since they rejected it and excluded themselves they were fully justified in preaching to the heathens, according to the ancient oracle.[1] What joyful words for the heathens! Many of them believed. The word of the Lord spread throughout Pisidia. But the Jews induced some distinguished women of heathen birth, but Jewish faith, to incite the authorities to persecute and expel Paul and Barnabas, who shook the dust off their feet as a testimony against their obstinate opponents,[2] and went on to Iconium, the capital of Lycaonia, leaving a grateful community full of promise behind them.—Here again they preached in the synagogue, converted a great number of Jews and heathens, and remained a considerable time, undismayed by the hostility of a host of Jews and the heathens they stirred up; for they were encouraged by the support of the Lord who gave them power to perform signs and wonders. The city was divided into two camps, for and against the apostles. But when they heard of a design to maltreat and stone them, they fled to two other cities of the same district, Lystra and Derbe, where they came forward again as bearers of the gospel.

At Lystra an unhappy man, who had been a cripple from his birth, was amongst their hearers. Paul turned a searching glance upon him, saw that he had faith to be cured, and cried

[1] Isaiah xlix. 6. [2] See Vol. V., pp. 233, 234, 235.

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aloud: "Stand up on your feet!" He sprang up instantly and walked like a sound man. The multitudes, on witnessing this miraculous cure, raised the cry: "They are gods who have come down to us in human form!" They held Barnabas for Zeus (Jupiter), the highest of the gods, and Paul, as the spokesman, for Hermes (Mercury), the interpreter and messenger of the gods; but since they spoke in their own dialect the apostles did not understand them, and only saw what they were about when the priest of Zeus brought oxen and wreaths of flowers to the gates of the temple at the entrance of the city, and was going to offer a sacrifice to them at the head of the multitudes. Deeply shocked and full of indignation, Barnabas and Paul tore their garments and rushed out amongst the people, exclaiming: "Stop, stop! We are men like yourselves, and our very purpose in coming to you was to make you forsake these false deities and turn to the true God, the Creator of all things, who has hitherto held back all knowledge of himself from you, but yet has not been without witness in his countless benefits to you." With such words they barely succeeded in drawing the people from their purpose. In this way general attention was immediately fixed upon them, and their labours were not fruitless. A community of believers was established, and one of its most promising members was a certain Timotheus, the uncircumcised son of a heathen and a Jewess. His pious mother and grandmother, who were both converted likewise, are elsewhere called Eunīce and Lois.[1] But before long a violent end was put to the work at Lystra. Certain Jews came from Antioch and Iconium, and incited the multitude to stone Paul, after which they dragged him out of the city and left him for dead. But he still lived, and as the disciples stood around him in sorrow he rose up and entered the city, but left it on the following morning for Derbe in company with

[1] Acts xvi. 1, 2; 2 Timothy i. 5.

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Barnabas. Here, too, they stayed some time and made many converts, amongst whom a certain Gaius is mentioned by name.[1]

After this they returned by the same route, strengthening their converts in the faith at Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, and exhorting them to be patient under the oppression they must still expect before the kingdom of God should come. After choosing elders in each community to manage its affairs, they took leave of the brethren, commending them with prayer and fasting to the Lord in whom they now believed. Thus they returned to Perge, in Pamphylia, where they preached once more, and then took ship at Attalia for Antioch, whence they had originally been sent out on their missionary work. With thankful hearts they recounted to the assembled brethren all that God had done concerning them, and how He had permitted the heathens to embrace the faith. Then they settled for a time in Antioch again.

With two reservations we may accept this narrative as substantially true. The first reservation refers to the miracles, the second to Paul's method as a missionary. The miracles are not mere involuntary embellishments of the story. They are something else and something more. It is a part of the scheme of the book of Acts deliberately to ascribe to Paul, on these and subsequent occasions, the same or similar miracles to those which have already been ascribed to Peter. The judgment upon Elymas corresponds to that upon Ananias, the cure of the cripple at Lystra to that of the beggar at the gate Beautiful.[2] This remark will be found to throw light upon many details, alike in what we have already heard and in what is still to come. For instance Peter, as we shall presently see,[3] had to contend with a

[1] Acts xx. 4.

[2] Compare p. 235 with p. 175, and pp. 237, 238 with p. 179.

[3] Acts viii. 18 ff., x. 25, 26; see chapters x. and vi.

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sorcerer and to reject divine honours, just as Paul does here.—Again, Paul's method in preaching is misrepresented with equal deliberation. In the first place he is made the emissary of others, and at first subordinate to Barnabas—he who took such pride in his independence of all human authority! But it is far more important yet to observe that the discourses put into his mouth are entirely without the strongly-marked peculiarities of his very characteristic style and spirit. There is nothing distinctively Pauline in them. Even upon the single occasion when he is made to speak of the truly Pauline doctrine of justification, a more or less marked Jewish-Christian colouring is given to his words.[1] But the most important point of all is that throughout this narrative and the whole book of Acts Paul is made to follow the fixed rule of addressing himself to the Jews first, and never feels at liberty to go to the heathens until the Jews have rejected him;—he who, according to the genuine sources of information, was profoundly conscious of being called distinctly as the apostle to the heathens, and would no longer hear of any distinction between Jew and gentile, or any privilege of the former over the latter![2]—These departures from the historical facts are eminently suited to reveal the character of the Acts, the true significance of this book, and the prevailing current of feeling in the post-apostolic age.

In other respects there is no reason to doubt the fidelity of the account of this journey. A trustworthy tradition doubtless lies at its foundation, especially as regards the principal places which Paul and Barnabas visited. The time occupied by the expedition must have been many months, and may have been several years, but we have no longer the means of determining it. That the missionaries started from

[1] Compare p. 236 with p. 220.

[2] Acts xvii. 2, xiii. 46 ff., xviii. 6, xxviii. 26 ff. Compare Galatians i. 16, ii. 2, 7, 8, iii. 28; Romans i. 14, iii. 21 ff., &c.

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Antioch with a special view to the conversion of the heathens, needs no further proof than is supplied by their names, for Barnabas, too, is expressly called an apostle of the heathens by Paul himself.[1] Of course they did not neglect the Jews, and the synagogue often furnished them with an advantageous point of departure; but the main purpose and the main result of the enterprise was the conversion of heathens upon a large scale.

Such then was the result of Paul's appearance as a preacher, the fruit of his many years of toil in the regions of Syria and Cilicia.[2] The preaching of Christ to the heathen world was an accomplished fact, not simply a local phenomenon of an exceptional and accidental character, but the bold and wide-spread embodiment of a principle thoroughly worked out.

This is a fact of incalculable importance.—Not only was the religious truth in the possession of which Israel rejoiced now preached to the heathen world and accepted by it, as the noblest prophets had foreseen; but that peculiar heritage of Israel, that exclusive national privilege, the right of citizenship in the community of the golden age, was thrown open to the heathens on a footing of full equality of rights and privileges with the seed of Abraham. Nay, ere long the stubbornness of the Jews was even destined to put them behind the heathens! The point upon which the special stress must be laid is the fact that these heathens were not required to embrace Judaism; for the gospel, though an Israelitish shoot, was grafted upon a foreign stem. The belief in God's unity, the ancient principle of His holiness, the new principle of His love, and the hope of His kingdom were shaken free from the religious formalities and the whole religious law of the Jews, and were preached to the heathens.

[1] Galatians ii. 9. [2] Compare Acts xv. 23, 41.

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This Israelitish shoot was of necessity modified by being grafted on another stem; and the Christ assumed a fresh character for the peoples who were strangers to the expectation of the Messiah, the son of God. In a word, a new religion sprang into existence. The Græco-Roman world had conceived a fresh germ of life; the regeneration of mankind had begun; the new age had broken!

This fact was destined to assume ever greater proportions and bring powers ever new to the work.—The agents themselves, meanwhile, were profoundly convinced that they were not advancing on their own impulse, in their own name, or on their own authority, but were commissioned by the Christ. This conviction, which was evidently well founded up to a certain point,[1] translated itself after the manner of the times[2] into a story about Jesus himself. When the Twelve had shown their incapacity,[3] so we read in the third Gospel, Jesus appointed seventy others, after the number of the nations of the heathen world, and sent them out, two by two, as he had formerly sent out the Twelve,[4] to every city and village, to prepare for his coming. The appointment and sending out of these disciples is recorded by the Evangelist at the beginning of the missionary journey of Jesus through Samaria, that is to say, at the beginning of his labours amongst those who were not Jews. This combination is very characteristic and very happily conceived, though, as a fact, the mission of the Seventy and the journey through Samaria are both equally unhistorical.[5] Luke further transfers to these Seventy the words which Jesus really uttered to the Twelve, when he spoke of the great harvest, of the lack of labourers for which God must

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 374 ff.
[2] Compare Vol. V., pp. 395, 396, and Vol. VI., pp. 210 ff.
[3] See Vol. V., pp. 243 ff. and 450 f.
[4] Vol: V., p. 233.
[5] Vol. V., pp. 396, 397.

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make provision, of his disciples being like lambs amongst wolves, and especially of the conduct they must observe upon their journeys.[1] Moreover, Luke adds a few fresh precepts,—that they are not to waste their time upon the way in mere courtesies, for there is much to do; that wherever they go they are to eat what is set before them, the food and drink of the heathens, without troubling themselves about the Jewish laws concerning food and cleanness.[2] Then, again, Luke makes Jesus declare, in one breath with that cry of woe over Bethsaida, Chorazin, and Capernaum,[3] that the rejection of the Seventy is equivalent to the rejection of the Christ himself; and when they return from their missionary efforts, he expressly points them out as the men to whom it is given to know the secrets of the gospel hidden to others, to whom the knowledge of the Father is vouchsafed, and who taste the blessings of salvation which prophets and kings had longed in vain to taste.[4] Finally, we read the following account of their initial success, of the battle which they had to wage, and the divine power which supported them:—

They returned to their master in triumph, and told him how the demons had fled from those they possessed at the preaching of the Christ; upon which the Master prepared them for a terrible resistance, but at the same time reassured them. "I saw Satan," he cried, "dart like a flash of lightning from his realm of air[5] down to the earth! But as for you, I have given you power to trample upon serpents and scorpions[6] and the whole army of the Evil One, without suffering any hurt or injury. And yet rejoice, not because the demons are forced to yield to you, but because your names

[1] Vol. V., pp. 227, 233, 235, and Vol. VI., pp. 53, 54.
[2] See Vol V., pp. 356–359, and Galatians ii. 12; 1 Corinthians x. 27.
[3] See Vol. V., pp. 331, 332. [4] See Vol. V., pp. 332, 243, 244, 208.
[5] Ephesians ii. 2. [6] Psalm xci. 13.

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are written down by God!"—When we remember that the heathen world was held to be the devil's territory, and the false gods were looked upon as demons who ruled over their worshippers, we can well understand that the work of the preachers amongst the heathens was described as a conflict with Satan, and that the conversion of the heathens, both here and elsewhere, is presented under the form of exorcism or the cure of demoniacs.[1] But in all this toil the certainty of sharing the blessings of the kingdom of God, which must be expected ere long, remained the richest source of strength, of comfort, and of joy.

Hitherto we have only mentioned or seen at work some few of these "Seventy," these messengers to the heathens; first, Philip and the preachers at Antioch, then Paul and Barnabas, Titus and Timothy. In addition to them we shall soon greet other labourers; but the first place can never be disputed with that great originator whose rich spirit and deep affections gave birth to the gospel for the heathens, and he must ever retain his indisputable claim to the title of honour: *the* Apostle of the Gentiles.

Chapter VI.

THE COLLISION OF THE TWO PARTIES.

Galatians II.; Acts XV.

WE must now return to the community at Jerusalem. For fifteen years or more it had held its own and had even increased, in spite of more than one fierce persecution. Meanwhile various other communities had been founded elsewhere on Jewish soil, chiefly by the zealous and

[1] See p. 211; Revelation ix. 20; 1 Corinthians x. 20; 2 Corinthians iv. 4. Compare Vol. V., p. 171.

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successful labours of Peter, who travelled about preaching from place to place. Of these labours we have but a very imperfect and distorted account in the book of Acts,[1] but they are established by the unequivocal testimony of Paul, which is above all suspicion.[2] The original community, however, which had once been the solitary guardian of the saving truth, which had braved the first dire shocks of the hostility of unbelieving countrymen, and which probably contained the greater part of the personal disciples of Jesus that yet remained, was still greatly looked up to by the rest, and naturally exercised a kind of authority over them.

In the clearness of its views and the independence of its attitude towards Judaism the community had not advanced. Several causes combined towards this result. The mere course of time tended to obliterate the impression of the Master's freedom from the minds of the disciples. The atmosphere in which they lived was saturated with orthodoxy and the worship of forms. Rigid and scrupulous Jews had joined the community of the Messiah, and had made their influence felt. Moreover there were two special circumstances which had exercised a decisive influence upon the brethren. With the first of these we are already familiar. It was the persecution and expulsion of the Greek-speaking believers, and the consequent banishment of the freer and more enlightened element from the community. The second circumstance was an orthodox movement in the bosom of Judaism itself, caused partly by the frantic demands of the emperor Caligula, who claimed divine honours and attempted to set up his image in the Temple (39, 40 A.D.), and partly by the Pharisaic government of king Herod Agrippa I. (41—44 A.D.). These two causes raised the zeal of the Jews for their Law, their Temple, and their nationality to the

[1] Acts ix. 32 ff.; see pp. 262, 263. [2] Galatians ii. 7, 8.

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highest pitch, and this could not fail to react upon the keen religious life and strained expectancy of the Christian community of Jerusalem.

At its head stood James, the brother of Jesus, supported by Peter and John. As to this James we know that his strict observance of the Law gained him the title of "the Just," and that he enjoyed the esteem of the Pharisees themselves. Indeed the earliest ecclesiastical historian (170 A.D.), himself a Jewish-Christian, says of him that from his birth he had been holy, had let his hair grow, had abstained from wine and intoxicating drinks, from animal food, and from anointing and bathing himself, that he wore nothing but linen, and was constantly kneeling in the Temple praying for the people, till his knees grew as hard as a camel's. No doubt this description is much exaggerated, but we have no reason to doubt that James observed with the utmost strictness the abstinence enjoined by the Nazarite's vow and some of the customs of the Essenes also.[1] The position held by such a man amongst the followers of Jesus is highly significant; and a learned ecclesiastical father at the close of the second century further informs us that the Apostle Matthew never ate any meat, but lived upon the produce of the field, upon fruit and vegetables.[2] The principles of the Essenes, which had points of unquestionable affinity with the gospel, had gradually forced their way, together with Pharisaism, into the bosom of the community. Thus the principles of Jesus himself were very largely superseded.

And now we can understand the significance of the work of Paul, and how much we owe to him. What would have become, without him, of the cause of Jesus? Though the Twelve were the first boldly to represent and advocate this cause, they afterwards allowed their task, their privileges

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 7, 8, 127, 310, 311.
[2] Compare Romans xiv. 2.

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and their rank, to pass away from themselves to "the Seventy," the messengers who bore the news to the heathens. For to them alone it was due that the community did not sooner or later perish, like the other Jewish sects.

We may be sure that for a long time no one at Jerusalem exactly knew what Paul, with Barnabas and others, was really doing. They only heard that the former persecutor had now become a preacher of the faith, and they thanked God for it. Perhaps they knew that he preached the Christ principally to heathens, but in any case they had no kind of connection with his work. As long as they did not come into contact with these new converts they might suppose, as a matter of course, that they had embraced Judaism and become proselytes, in order to be admitted to a share in the national expectation of Abraham's seed, in the Christ and his salvation. It was only while they retained some such impression that they could be thankful for what Paul was doing. As soon as they should come to hear what was really being done, or as soon as they should come into contact with the converts, as they must at last, then a violent collision would be inevitable. It would have been strange, indeed, if such a revolution, inaugurating a new religion of the world, had been accomplished without violent shocks, or without sowing dissension between brothers and rending them apart.

As to the occasion, the time, the place, and the manner of this explosion, our information is very imperfect. Paul only tells us that certain false brothers had crept into his communities, to ensnare the liberty which he and all his converts enjoyed in virtue of their faith in Christ, and to bring them under the yoke of the Law.—But this is hardly a fair way of stating the facts. These Jewish believers were no false brothers, but were as zealous for what they held to be the truth of God, and as firm in their own convictions as Paul himself.

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However contracted their ideas might be they acted to the best of their own knowledge. Nor can we believe that they crept in unawares. We may be sure that they took a high tone from the very first in attempting to vindicate the Law of the Lord where they found it had been neglected, to compel the heathen converts to become proselytes, and the believing Jews to live in strict accordance with the Law, if they hoped to have a place in the kingdom of the Christ. But Paul did not always shine in appreciating the motives and convictions of those who differed from him; and when he wrote his account of this affair, four years or so afterwards, he had seen these orthodox zealots do such incalculable harm and had suffered so keenly from them himself that we can perfectly understand the bitter tone he adopted towards them. Their very first appearance amongst his converts was evidently fraught with extremest danger, and threatened to break down all that he had built up and to blight his past and future work with the curse of barrenness. How is it possible? we ask. Well! orthodoxy seems in every age to have a marvellous fascination for undeveloped natures; and in this case its exponents could appeal to the community at Jerusalem and the Twelve, who had been the disciples of Jesus himself and must surely know the conditions of discipleship much better than Paul could do! It was, indeed, a troubled period in the life of the apostle of the gentiles!

In Acts we read that the dispute broke out at Antioch, to which Syria and Cilicia are subsequently[1] added, and that it was caused by the arrival of certain men from Judæa, who taught the heathen converts that they must incorporate themselves with the covenanted people of the Lord by circumcision and by observing the Law in all other respects. Otherwise, they said, their hope in the Christ would be vain, and when he returned and judged the world he would not

[1] Acts xv. 23.

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recognise them as his, but would condemn them together with all the uncircumcised. This caused extreme dismay. Paul and Barnabas defended themselves with zeal and power, but with only partial success. Many of the Christians of Antioch were convinced by the new teaching, or, at any rate, shaken in their former confidence. The contest grew more violent. At last the community determined to send Paul and Barnabas, with certain others, as a deputation to Jerusalem to ask for the decision of the Apostles and the elders there.—All this is very credible, except the last statement, which is not correct. Paul was not sent to Jerusalem by anyone, but went of his own accord, though only after long hesitation and a hard struggle. At first he could not bring himself to renounce his proud independence and go to Jerusalem to beg approval for his gospel, as though he recognised the authority of man! But then there was so much at stake! He was tossed to and fro in painful indecision till at last he thought he heard a voice from God, reassuring him and commanding him to go.

Of course Barnabas went with him; and he took Titus also. When he reached Jerusalem he set forth to the brethren, who now became acquainted with him for the first time, how he laboured amongst the heathens, how he brought them to the knowledge of the one true God, making them utterly relinquish their idolatry, how he preached the Christ to them as monarch in the kingdom of God, and as the future judge of mankind, making them believe in him and take up his principles into their hearts and lives. Moreover, he told them how success had crowned his efforts and how he had established churches in various parts of Syria and Cilicia. He spoke of the same things privately to the three most influential men—James, Cephas (Peter), and John—and to them he doubtless explained, more particularly and fully than he had done before the public meeting, the veritable

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essence of his preaching to the heathens,—justification by faith alone without circumcision or observance of the Law.

It was hard to bring himself to it! Years afterwards there was something repulsive to his nature in the thought of it. But if the heads of the community should once join these Jewish fanatics against him, then he foresaw that all his efforts would be thwarted; that his churches would be torn asunder and finally subjected to the Law; in a word, that the truth of the gospel would be obscured; and inasmuch as Judaism with its countless ceremonies could never be a universal religion, the conversion of the heathens would itself be cramped and ultimately made impossible. So for all these reasons he consented to plead his cause at Jerusalem; though he himself was far too certain in his own mind of the truth that he possessed to submit it for decision to any human judges, even the three "pillars" themselves! Neither did he yield or swerve a hair's breadth before the zealots, even in the smallest thing, here in Jerusalem any more than he had done when on his own ground. Here, on their own ground and in all their strength, they definitely demanded in the name of the Lord that Titus should be circumcised, and pressed the demand with ever-growing impetuosity. No doubt the Apostles themselves would have been glad if Paul and his disciple would have consented to this step; for if they had not cared about it, then the persistency of the others would not have signified. But for all that they were not prepared definitely to insist upon it, and did not do so. So in spite of the most violent scenes, Titus remained uncircumcised as a standing assertion that the ordinary heathen converts could still less be expected to conform to this Jewish practice.

So after various conferences, explanations, and negotiations, Paul finally gained his point. At any rate James and Peter and John were unable to convince him of error or to

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show him that God had opened to them any better conception of the gospel than his. So they left him in perfect liberty. For their position also was a very difficult one. The prophets themselves had expected Israel to be the light of the world in the golden age, and the heathens to bow in willing subjection before the Messiah. Nor had the Twelve so completely forgotten the teaching or lost the spirit of Jesus as to retain or encourage the spirit of national pride and exclusiveness. Finally, love of the Master and zeal for his cause compelled them to rejoice in the bold attempt of the preacher who braved every difficulty and danger in order to bear the message of salvation to far off lands. But yet the conditions upon which he admitted heathens to the faith were open to grave suspicion. The fact that he enjoined no legal observances whatever, but allowed his converts to continue their heathen ways of life, seriously damped the joy with which the Apostles heard of his success. The scriptural passages[1] and other arguments which he urged in favour of his gospel did not convince them. But there was one conclusive proof to which Paul constantly recurred and against which they had nothing to urge—it was the divine blessing which had rested on his work. If it had not been acceptable to the Lord, He would not have allowed him so rich a harvest. That was certain. The success of his work was the seal of divine approbation. Paul had been called to the task of advancing into the heathen world as the herald of the son of God, had been endowed with the rare and special gifts and powers needed for the task, as indisputably as Peter had been called to preach the Messiah to the Jews. Not to recognise him would be to resist God. So James and Peter and John grasped the hand of fellowship held out to them and recognised Paul and Barnabas as fellow-labourers in the great task, and specifically as preachers of the gospel to the hea-

[1] Compare Romans x. 11 ff., xv. 8 ff.

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thens, while they themselves continued to devote their time and strength to the people of the covenant. Ere long the Master himself would return from heaven and decide the question—in their favour.

Did this mean a tacit understanding that each would go out of the other's way and take care to keep out of it? At any rate the Twelve implied that they would not harass Paul because his gospel differed from theirs, but would leave the ultimate decision to the Christ. For it is evident that they never came to any real agreement on the points of difference between them, or why should they have marked off their separate fields of labour so distinctly? Had the others accepted Pauline views as to the annulling of the Law and the equality of all mankind, why should not Peter and the rest have preached to heathens, or Paul to Jews, just as it happened? But the fact was that these men of Jerusalem were profoundly convinced that, as far as Jews were concerned, Paul's doctrine of justification by faith alone was inapplicable or rather distinctly untrue; and they determined therefore to go on preaching the glad tidings to the Jews without loosening the connection of the gospel with the piety and the privileges of their nation; and as for these Greeks, since they were not incorporated into Israel, they could hardly claim equality of rank in the kingdom of God, but their faith would perhaps secure their admission.

So Paul and Barnabas might go their way. One only condition was made, and to that the messengers to the heathens cheerfully acceded. They were to collect money amongst their converts for the needy brethren at Jerusalem, whom famine and other disasters had brought into great distress. These contributions would bear a certain analogy to those made by the foreign Jews towards the expenses of the Temple, which they paid with great regularity; and though the claim seemed to imply a certain sense of superiority on

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the part of the primitive community, it did not involve the smallest sacrifice of principle upon the other side, and accordingly Paul was by no means slack in his compliance with it.

It was not without satisfaction that Paul returned with his two companions to Antioch. He could now assure all those who felt uneasy, either there or elsewhere, that the heads of the community had no desire to force circumcision and the observance of the Law upon the heathen converts as indispensable conditions of salvation, but had given him and Barnabas the hand of fellowship. Of course there would be some who had already been persuaded, and who now persevered in their new course for safety's sake. The Apostles had never said it was superfluous, they felt sure. And, indeed, it appeared only too soon that the gulf, though covered over, was not closed.

After a time Peter came to Antioch. The cause of his visit is not known. Did Paul invite him? Did he intend to preach Jesus, as the Messiah, amongst the numerous Jewish residents? This would be no violation of the understanding with Paul; and a mere complimentary visit seems improbable, a journey for relaxation more improbable yet. Besides, his visit does not seem to have been a short one. Be this as it may, all went smoothly enough at first, and Paul gained a veritable triumph. Not only did Peter indulge in friendly intercourse with him and Barnabas, but he even associated with the heathen converts, and went so far as to eat with them. That was an important step. To enter into such brotherly relations with the uncircumcised and therefore the unclean, as to sit at the same table with them and accept them as fellow believers, was tantamount to openly recognising them as the equals of the Jewish converts in spite of their continuing to live without the Law. Moreover, Peter himself must on these occasions have transgressed the dietary

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laws. We may take for granted that the Christians of Antioch had tact enough to respect the ingrained aversion of every Jew—of Paul no less than Peter—to the flesh of swine, and would set no pork upon the board; but they were entirely ignorant of all the Jewish restrictions as to the kinds of food allowed and the proper methods of preparing them. It is quite possible that beef might be served, cut from a beast that had been sacrificed to a heathen deity, and it is certain that tithes would not have been paid out of all the victuals. So Peter practically dispensed with the observance of the Law, and lived in gentile fashion.

This is far from inexplicable. Peter was naturally of a liberal disposition, and his short intercourse with Jesus had made him more so. Here at Antioch, on gentile-Christian ground, where Jews and gentiles had been on terms of friendly intercourse before he came, he had hardly any choice; and, finally, the influence of so powerful a personality as Paul's could not fail to have great weight with him.

But for all this, Peter's conduct was dictated by no principle and rested on no settled conviction. He was not really himself, and this style of life did not sit easily upon him. He was accustomed to very different things at Jerusalem, in the midst of his formal surroundings and in the company of the punctilious James. Hence the possibility of his veering completely round.

Perhaps he had been in the Syrian capital for some few weeks when certain Nazarenes from Jerusalem came there also. They had been sent by James, but with what purpose we do not know. It can hardly have been that James had heard of Peter's conduct, and desired to bring him back to the right track. It is more likely that he sent these men to help Peter in his preaching to the Jews. At any rate, on this latter supposition it would still be quite natural that they should not only express themselves to Peter as person-

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ally surprised and shocked at his mode of life, so different from that he was accustomed to in Jerusalem, but should also point out that their chances of converting the Jews of Antioch to faith in the Messiah would be greatly increased if both they themselves and all the Jewish believers in the place strictly conformed to the Law. All this, however, is purely conjectural. We only know that these emissaries of James's had hardly come to Antioch before Peter repented of the line he had taken, shrank from following it out any further, and precipitately withdrew. No one could help observing that he had suddenly begun to avoid with scrupulous care all familiar intercourse with the uncircumcised, and also that fear of these brothers from Jerusalem had dictated the change. But the worst of it was that the other Jewish converts soon began to follow his disastrous example; and even Barnabas, the bold ally who had hitherto sympathised so thoroughly with Paul, was swept along by the stream!

The confusion and dismay amongst the gentile-Christians were past description. None of the circumcised believers would sit at one table with them as brothers in the Lord any more. A great proportion of the brethren condemned the conduct of Peter, and with good reason, but dare not say what they thought. Meanwhile it became more and more difficult for the heathen converts to maintain their independence of the Law. The men who had just come from Jerusalem insisted with all their might upon observance of the Law as indispensable to a full participation in the joys of salvation. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, urged them in the same direction, indirectly by his conduct if not directly by his words. If they asserted their freedom, they would not only be cut off from intercourse with their brothers of Israel, including Barnabas, but would be risking more or less completely their own future and their foothold in the kingdom of God.

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It was a critical and perilous moment! Now for the first time the great difference of principle came sharply and clearly into the light. Was it to be the old or the new, Law or gospel, forms or faith, authority or freedom, James or Paul? James had almost all the advantages; for custom and prejudice, in a word the almost irresistible weight of tradition, the so-called divine authority, was upon his side. Paul had nothing to oppose to it except the new-born Christian consciousness. No wonder then that Peter, and all the rest who had hitherto displayed so much liberality without exactly seeing what it meant or in obedience to mere personal preferences, drew back as soon as they were called upon to make a definite choice. It was no longer a case of making concessions and giving way to brothers in the faith who were imperfectly acquainted or wholly unacquainted with the Law. It had become a matter of principle, and they must embrace or reject that principle with all that it involved. Was the Law necessary to salvation or not? If superfluous for the heathens, was it not, at any rate, binding on the Jews? And if binding on the Jews, must it not after all be binding upon the heathens also?—A definite decision must at last be made. Once more, we can well understand that Peter shrank from carrying out his liberal impulses; but we can also understand why Paul, who could not comprehend and could not endure half-heartedness, who regarded this vacillation as conscious unfaithfulness to the principle of the gospel, did not shrink from using the hard word "hypocrisy!"

It was well that Paul was there and did not shrink from carrying his principles through! Seeing what was at stake, and knowing how severely Peter's altered conduct was condemned, he roundly told him the truth to his face, and in the presence of all the congregation. "You, a born Jew," he cried in substance, "but yesterday felt no difficulty in

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living as a gentile; and to-day you would compel all the gentiles to live as Jews!—Why did we, who are Jews, believe in the Christ, if not because we knew that observance of the Law could not justify us before God? And if after that we turn round and declare it essential to live after the Law, we make the position of the Christ himself equivocal, bring ourselves under the judgment, empty of its meaning the Christian life of faith, and make out that the son of God died for nothing!"

What was the end of this controversy we do not know. Paul never hints that Peter confessed his weakness and embraced the cause of freedom; and it is more than improbable that he did so. As far as we can make out the Apostle of the Jews took good care henceforth never to quit the path of the Law; but on this occasion his own inconsistency must have made it hard for him to put forward any defence, and Paul, as the man of principle, held the field.

But the conflict had resulted in a definite breach.

Such is the conception of these events which we gather from Paul's own words. In the book of Acts, on the contrary, we find the following picture:—

The congregation of Antioch had escorted their deputies, Paul and Barnabas, through the first stages of their journey; and as the latter passed through Phœnicia and Samaria they rejoiced the hearts of the brethren everywhere by recording the conversion of the heathens. At Jerusalem they were well received by the brethren with their elders and the Apostles, and to them also they related all that God had accomplished by their means. But certain Pharisees who had joined the brethren said that the heathen converts ought to submit to circumcision and the Law.

To consider this question a meeting of the Apostles and elders was held. Great diversity of opinion was manifested

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amongst them until Peter stood up and reminded them how God had long ago especially selected him to preach the gospel to the uncircumcised, and had set the heathen believers on a full equality with the converted Jews. It was therefore a defiance of God to insist upon imposing the yoke of the Law, which the Jews themselves had found unbearable, upon the necks of the gentiles. Surely there was no salvation for either Jew or gentile but by the grace of the Lord Jesus!— Paul and Barnabas took advantage of the silence that followed this address to relate to the whole assembled multitude what wonders God had done by them amongst the heathens. Then James began. He referred to the ancient oracle about the conversion of the heathen, and expressed his opinion that they ought not to throw any obstacles in the way of that conversion. It would be enough to require the converts to abstain from the meat of beasts that had been sacrificed to idols; from all that the Jews regarded as inchastity, including marriage within certain degrees of relationship; and from all animals that had been caught and strangled in snares, or for any other cause had not bled properly when killed. So much might reasonably be required, for the law of Moses had long been preached in the heathen world as well as in Jewry, week by week, and might therefore fairly claim a certain degree of respect even from the heathens.

This proposal was approved by the Apostles, the elders, and the whole community, and they determined to send two representatives, Judas the son of Sabbas, and Silas, to accompany Paul and Barnabas to Antioch with an official address to the gentile converts there and in Syria and Cilicia generally, in which the fanatics who wished to make circumcision and the observance of the Law compulsory were repudiated as mischief makers, Barnabas and Paul commended as zealous servants of the Christ, and abstinence from the four specified abominations, only, enjoined in the name of the Holy

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Spirit as absolutely necessary. Accordingly the four set out, and when they reached Antioch they summoned the brethren and gave them the letter, the contents of which they received with joy.

Judas and Silas, who were both of them prophets, laboured for a time at Antioch and then returned to those who had sent them. Paul and Barnabas staid at Antioch teaching and preaching there with many others, till Paul proposed that they should go and visit the churches they had founded on their first missionary journey. Barnabas agreed, and suggested that they should take John Mark with them, to which Paul objected on the ground that he had deserted them before. They grew warm on the subject and finally separated, Barnabas going with Mark to Cyprus, and Paul with Silas to the churches of Syria and Cilicia, everywhere enforcing the regulations laid down by the council of Jerusalem.—

We perceive at once that this narrative differs totally from that of Paul, and that in many points it flatly contradicts it, and is therefore quite untrustworthy. Here the question is decided in a formal assembly, while Paul says that it was settled in private conference with the three "pillars." Here Paul drops quite into the background, whereas he was really the principal speaker or pleader. Here there is no difference of opinion between him and the Apostles; he has no cause for anxiety in going to Jerusalem; and not a word is said of dividing the field of labour. The one stipulation really made, namely that the gentile believers should contribute to the support of their Jewish brothers, is passed over without a syllable. This is intentional, for advantage was subsequently taken of this money question to represent Paul in a most odious light; and this is why our author spoke of his collection of relief funds at an earlier period when no difficulties whatever had arisen.[1] Nothing is said of Titus, for

[1] See p. 233 and chapter x.

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fear of recalling the violent dispute of which he was the centre, and the steadfast refusal of Paul to circumcise him; and our author, who shrinks from nothing that looks conciliatory, afterwards pretends[1] that Paul, when taking Timothy upon a journey with him, circumcised him to please the Jews of Asia Minor, who were all aware that his father was a heathen. We may rest assured, however, that Paul would never be guilty of such a sacrifice of principle, especially after all that had occurred.

The discourses put into the mouths of James and Peter are especially remarkable. Even James is for toleration and concession, but Peter—so completely is everything reversed—speaks like a genuine follower of Paul: There is no distinction now, he says, between Jew and gentile; God has given the Holy Spirit to the latter as well as the former; to subject the heathens to the Law is defiance of God; all alike must be purified by faith alone; not even the Jewish believers can find salvation in the Law!—Our author never ventures to let Paul himself come out so boldly with his own principles![2] If Peter had ever really used such words, how easily Paul might have brought him to task at Antioch! James leaves this portion of his colleague's speech untouched, and goes on the assumption that the Law remains in force for the Jews, but that the number of commandments enforced amongst the gentiles should be as small as possible.

As regards the four commandments themselves, or rather the resolution of the council at Jerusalem to enforce them, Paul's solemn statement that he was left at perfect liberty is conclusive. Had the resolution really been made and accepted, the scene at Antioch could never have been enacted; the heathen converts would have complied with the regulations;[3] Peter could have had no difficulty in eating with them; the

[1] Acts xvi. 3. [2] Compare Acts xxi. 21, 24.
[3] Acts xv. 30, 31, xvi. 4, xxi. 25.

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emissaries of James could not have demanded their exclusion; Barnabas and the other Jewish members would never have separated themselves from them. Finally we observe that afterwards when the question of the use of heathen viands, especially meat that had been sacrificed to idols, arose in the Pauline communities, no one—whether Jew or heathen—knew anything of a resolution on the subject passed by the parent church.—The prohibitions themselves are what the Jewish-Christians afterwards came to regard as the minimum of legal observance upon which they must insist from the gentile-Christians But this minimum was never officially defined. It merely grew up in practice, and was suggested by the Noachic commandments,[1] which the Jews required the proselytes of the gate to observe; or rather by the precepts of the Law to the strangers who dwelt in Israel.[2] In post-apostolic times we really find these observances recognised as the test of the renunciation of heathenism.

Again, Peter's visit to Antioch, with all that took place on that occasion, is consigned to oblivion by the book of Acts for obvious reasons. The estrangement between Paul and Barnabas, which was really caused by the equivocal and vacillating conduct of the latter, is accounted for in Acts by a totally different cause that has no connection with the question of faith; but we may remark that since Paul still writes of Barnabas some years afterwards as though he were a preacher to the heathen and a fellow-labourer of his own in full sympathy with him,[3] we are justified in doubting whether it is true that the two men separated for good, as the book of Acts declares.

But perhaps the most important of all the divergencies between the historical account of Paul and the harmonising

[1] See Vol. I., p. 107. [2] Leviticus xvii. 8 ff.
[3] Galatians ii. 1, 9; 1 Corinthians ix. 6.

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efforts of the author of Acts has still to be mentioned. Paul tells us not only that God had unmistakably appointed Peter the Apostle of the Jews, as he had appointed him the preacher to the heathens, but also that the fact was recognised and declared at Jerusalem; but in Acts we find Peter, in a passage of his speech to which James subsequently refers, speaking of it as a matter of general knowledge that God had long ago chosen him, Peter, out of all the rest, as the one from whose mouth the heathens should hear the gospel and believe! It is easy to see that this ascription of the original apostolate of the heathens to Peter, this tearing of his laurels from Paul, is simply intended to fill up the gulf between the two hostile parties of the post-apostolic age. The story composed with this object, and referred to in the discourses we have been considering, runs as follows:[1]

Peter was making a tour of all the churches in Palestine, which had entered upon a period of great prosperity since the conversion of their most violent persecutor, Saul. In the course of his journey he came to Lydda, and there, in the name of Jesus, the Messiah, he cured a certain Æneas, who had been lame and confined to his bed for eight years. An urgent invitation from the brethren at Joppa, which was situated on the sea shore about four leagues from Lydda, hastened his departure; for there at Joppa, one of the believers, an unwearied benefactress of the poor, named Tabitha, in Greek Dorcas (that is *gazelle*), had just died, and they were keeping her unburied in expectation of Peter's arrival. When he came he restored her to life, to the great joy of the community, and especially of the poor widows whom she had provided with clothing. By these two miracles he won many souls for the good cause in both the cities and in the districts round. He remained at Joppa some time in the house of a tanner, which was a proof of his libe-

[1] Acts ix. 31—xi. 18.

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rality, since the tanner's trade was considered half unclean, and those who practised it usually had to live apart. It was here that he received his call as Apostle of the gentiles.

There dwelt at Cæsarea, a day-and-a-half's journey north of Joppa, a certain Cornelius, an officer of the Italian cohort; and he and all his household were devout worshippers of the god of Israel, though not proselytes. One afternoon, at the third hour of prayer, his enlightened eyes beheld an angel enter the apartment, and the angel said that, as a reward for his perseverance in prayer and his frequent alms to the Jews, God commanded him to send to Joppa for a man called Simon Peter, who was lodging in such and such a house. Cornelius instantly obeyed, and sent three trusty messengers to find Peter.

But would Peter consent to visit a gentile? That was the Lord's care. The following day, at twelve o'clock, the Apostle had gone out on the roof of the house for the second prayer. He was hungry, but the meal was not yet ready. Then he fell into a trance and saw the heaven open, while something like a great sheet, suspended by the four corners, was let down to earth. It contained all manner of four-footed and creeping things, and all manner of birds, clean and unclean alike. A voice from heaven cried, "Rise, Peter! kill and eat;" but he urged that he had never eaten unclean food in his life, upon which the voice replied, "What God has cleansed call not thou unclean." This was repeated three times, after which the sheet was drawn up again into heaven. Now, while Peter was pondering upon the meaning of this vision, the messengers came from Cornelius. They had found the house, and were at that very moment inquiring for Peter. Then the Holy Spirit commanded the Apostle to go with them unhesitatingly, as sent by the Spirit. So he came down, made himself known, inquired what had brought them to him, heard of the message Cornelius had received from God, offered them hos-

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pitality for that night, and the next morning started with them for Cæsarea, accompanied by six of the brethren from Joppa, on account of the great importance of the occasion.

Cornelius was awaiting him, together with his relatives and his closest friends, and no sooner had the Apostle entered than he fell down before him in superstitious reverence. But the other repudiated his homage, said that he, too, was a man and nothing more, and entered the room, which was full of people, in familiar conversation. His first care was to explain how it was that he, a Jew, had not refused to enter into these relations with a gentile. God had taught him to consider no man unclean or an outcast. But now he wished to know why he had been sent for.—Then the officer told him of the vision he had had as he was fasting, three days before, and concluded: "So now we are all here, as in the presence of God, to know what it is that the Lord has commanded you."

Then Peter began: Now he knew for certain that God paid no heed to birth or to descent, but would extend his grace to any god-fearing and virtuous man, whether he were Jew or gentile, and would admit him into his kingdom. They must all have heard of the glad tidings sent to Israel, the glad tidings of salvation through Jesus Christ, the Lord of all, both Jew and gentile. After the preaching of John, the whole of Judæa, beginning with Galilee, had been filled with the name of Jesus of Nazareth, a man entrusted by God with the Holy Spirit and with power to work miracles, who had gone through the land doing good and healing all the victims of the devil by the power of God. Now when they had murdered this man, God raised him again and showed him, not to the whole of Israel, but to his chosen witnesses. He had commissioned the Apostles to preach him to Israel as the future judge of the living and the dead; and the prophets long ago had spoken of his salvation.

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When Peter had reached this point, all his hearers were suddenly filled with the Holy Spirit, and "spoke with tongues" or burst into rapturous praises of God. The Jewish believers from Joppa were filled with amazement when they saw this gift of the Spirit, first poured out on the day of Pentecost, communicated to heathens likewise. Peter felt that when the Spirit had been thus poured out upon them there could not possibly be any difficulty in formally admitting them into the Messiah's community, and accordingly they were baptised as believers in the Lord, after which Peter yielded to their desire that he would stay with them a little time.

It was not long before the other Apostles and the Jewish believers generally came to hear that the heathens had accepted the preaching of the Christ; and when Peter returned to Jerusalem the members of the community severely blamed him for having sat at table with the uncircumcised. But when Peter gave them a detailed account of his vision of the clean and unclean beasts and all that had followed it, and told them how the Spirit had been poured upon Cornelius and his friends (to which the six brethren from Joppa could testify), then they all agreed with him that it was impossible to mistake the hand of God in this, and that it would be impious to resist it. So they made no further difficulties, but praised God for having called the heathens also to repent and attain to the supreme blessedness.—

This story, which is given with extreme detail because of its great importance, is meant to show that God himself had unconditionally sanctioned the conversion of the heathens. And therefore our author places it before the beginning of Paul's work amongst the gentiles, and even before the preaching of the Grecian Jews at Antioch. Everything is dictated from above, and nothing is the result of any human impulse. Nay, Peter is expressly represented as entertaining a very exaggerated horror of the gentiles, which he overcomes

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with difficulty; while the indignation of the men of Jerusalem shows that nothing short of an unmistakable divine revelation would have reconciled them to the measure. It is the angel's visit, the voice from heaven, and the pouring out of the Spirit that decide the whole matter. Thus it appears that Jew and gentile are alike in the sight of God; that the latter has the same claims to the gospel as the former; that circumcision and observance of the Law are no conditions of salvation. The repeated use of the expression *the* heathens[1] shows that there is no intention of treating this as an isolated case, and that it is regarded as involving the whole principle of the conversion of the heathens. In the end the primitive community not only acquiesces in the accession of the uncircumcised, but glorifies God for it.

Whether there are any facts at all at the bottom of this story it is difficult to say. In any case its enumeration of the cities Lydda, Joppa, and Cæsarea constitutes our sole remaining account of Peter's wide-spread and successful labours as the missionary Apostle of the Jews. As it now stands, it need hardly be said that the narrative is in direct contradiction with history. To convince ourselves of this we have only to think of the orthodox believers who forced themselves into Paul's communities, of the danger which consequently threatened his work amongst the heathens, of his painful journey to Jerusalem, of the emphatic indication of Peter as the Apostle of the Jews in contradistinction to the two messengers to the heathens, of Peter's conduct at Antioch, of the attitude adopted by James, and of all that yet remains to be told of the community at Jerusalem. In a word, this story makes out that the question of the conversion of the heathens was supernaturally settled, once for all, to everybody's satisfaction; whereas we know from Paul what bitter proof of the contrary he had, and in the book of

[1] Acts x. 45, xi. 1, 18, compare x. 28, 35, xi. 3, 17.

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Acts itself, a few chapters further on, we find the question still regarded as unsettled.[1] Quite apart from the miracles and visions, then, the story is a palpable fiction. As to the miraculous machinery, we may note the analogies between the restoration of Dorcas to life and that of Jairus's daughter, between the person of the Cæsarean officer and that of his brother in arms at Capernaum, and above all between the experiences of Peter and the honour which he gains, and all that we are elsewhere told of Paul.[2] And, again, the visions of Peter and Cornelius remind us of those of Ananias and Saul. Finally, it was no accident, but a definite attempt to obscure the events at Antioch, which dictated the emphatic assertion that Peter had eaten with the uncircumcised, had been reproached for doing so by the orthodox believers, had defended himself manfully, and had freed himself from all blame even in their eyes.

The whole story is a pure invention, and anything but a purposeless one. Long after the breach had been made in the old community, our author, or his authority, attempted to heal it for ever by throwing a veil over the events that had given rise to it, or rather by disguising them past the possibility of recognition. He would have accomplished his purpose to perfection, had not a few of Paul's letters been preserved!—After the short-lived peace of Jerusalem the decisive outbreak at Antioch established the breach between the two parties. The difference of principle between them must end in open warfare. Personal jealousies embittered the contest. Paul's public rebuke of Peter could never be forgiven. A century afterwards the extreme orthodox section reproached him with having told their Apostle that he was *condemned* for his equivocal dealings.

[1] Acts xv. 1, 5, 6, &c.

[2] Compare Mark v. 23, 35, 40—42 with Acts ix. 37—41; Luke vii. 2—5 with Acts x. 1, 2, 4, 22; and see p. 238 and chap. x.

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This conflict was to follow Paul, like a curse, wherever he went, and fall like a blight upon all his work. He seems to have thought it best to leave Antioch at once. In spite of his uncompromising attitude, or perhaps in consequence of it, he was deserted, or at least suspected, by many of the brethren. He permanently removed to other regions the scene of his labours as a preacher. Let us follow him upon these missionary journeys and stay with him, as he takes up his abode for longer or shorter periods in various centres of the ancient civilisation!

Chapter VII.

THE GOSPEL IN EUROPE.

Acts XVI.—XVIII. 18; Mark V. 1—20.[1]

IN the book of Acts Paul's missionary labours are artificially divided into three periods. Each journey is begun from Antioch and concluded or followed by a visit to Jerusalem; and in each case that portion of the narrative on which the chief stress falls is illustrated by a discourse. At the beginning of the first journey there is an address to the Jews, in the middle of the second a discourse to the heathens, and at the end of the third a farewell speech to the Christians. But we cannot preserve this division, for the visit to the primitive community in the City of the Temple which divides the so-called second and third missionary journeys was never made at all, and the two, therefore, fall into one.[2] After the events at Antioch (51 or 52 A.D.) begins a period of not less than six and not more than eight years, during which we find Paul working in a fresh field in the central and western portions of Asia Minor, in Macedonia, and in

[1] Matthew viii. 28—34; Luke viii. 26—39.
[2] Acts xviii. 21, 22.

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Greece, travelling about from place to place but settling for some time, first at Corinth and afterwards at Ephesus, where he found convenient centres from which to start and to which to return.

Amongst the written sources of information used by the author of Acts was a record made by an unknown friend of the apostle's who accompanied him upon some at least of his journeys. It has been conjectured that this friend was Titus, whose name is never mentioned in the book of Acts, and though we cannot be certain in the matter there seem to be no valid objections to this idea. A more common opinion is that it was a certain Greek physician of the name of Luke,[1] and that the tradition which ascribes the whole book to him rests upon the fact that it contains these fragments from his hand.[2] But whoever he was we only possess a few fragments of his itinerary,[3] embracing the passage to Philippi and the opening of the apostle's labours at that place, the last journey from Europe to Asia Minor, the journey to Jerusalem, and finally that to Rome. We recognise these fragments at once from the author's use of the first person plural, which the writer of Acts preserved, perhaps with a feeling that this "we" would give a greater air of fidelity to the whole book. In other respects he probably was not equally scrupulous in giving the fragments just as he found them.

It is not an accident that we first meet with this eye-witness on occasion of the introduction and initial establishment of the gospel in Europe; for the preaching of the gospel in our own quarter of the globe has almost as special an interest for our author as it has for ourselves. In fact, he lays down his pen as soon as he has recorded the establishment of Christianity in Rome, the heart of the

[1] Colossians iv. 14. [2] Compare Vol. V., p. 38.
[3] Acts xvi. 10—17, xx. 5—15, xxi. 1—18, xxvii. 1—xxviii. 16.

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Græco-Roman world, the great capital of the West. And so too here, he passes with extreme rapidity over all that precedes the passage to Europe, namely, the journey through Syria and Cilicia, by Derbe and Lystra (where Paul found Timothy and took him with him), and through Phrygia and Galatia.[1] He further informs us that the apostle was prevented by divine interposition from preaching in the north-west of Asia Minor, and that at Troas God summoned him to preach the gospel in Europe by sending him a vision of a Macedonian who implored him to come over to his land with the message of salvation.

There is only one portion of this very meagre account which we are in a position to amplify. It is the journey through Galatia. In a letter that he afterwards wrote to the congregations scattered through this district, Paul reminds them that an illness had compelled him to remain some time amongst them,[2] probably not in any of the great cities such as Pessinus, Tavium, or Ancyra, but in the country. This was the beginning of his labours in this district, which were crowned with remarkable success. Here he met with men of a very different character from any he had yet known. They were not Asiatics, but were Gallic or Celtic colonists who had been settled in the district for three hundred years. Although he was ill, and his sickness seems to have had an offensive character, perhaps consisting in whole or in part in an eruption or inflammation of the eyes, yet he met with an eminently favourable reception. Had he been an angel from heaven, or the Christ in person, he could hardly have been welcomed more. The Galatians would have torn out their very eyes to give him.[3] These were fair days in the stormy life of Paul. There were no Jews to listen with amazement and suspicion to his words, or to offer direct resistance. He had only to do with heathens, whom he

[1] See pp. 259, 260. [2] Galatians iv. 13. [3] Galatians iv. 14, 15.

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found as simple and open-minded as they were earnest for salvation. So he preached the death of Jesus on the cross to them, as the only means of salvation, and preached so clearly and powerfully that he seemed to set it before their very eyes; and they joyfully accepted the faith that was to justify them in the sight of God. Signs that their spiritual nature was thoroughly roused soon followed. Spiritual blessings were multiplied upon them; they glowed with zeal for the truth, and strove to live pure lives, in order that when the Christ returned he might receive them into the kingdom of God.[1] Before Paul left Galatia he had founded a number of communities of heathen converts, small, but rich in promise, won heart and soul for his gospel, and deeply attached to him personally.

The journey from the heart of Asia Minor to the north-west coast appears to have furnished little or nothing noteworthy. At Troas Paul took ship, accompanied by Timothy, Silas, and the unknown companion who wrote the diary. Passing the island of Samothrace they came in two days to Neapŏlis, on the coast of Thrace, whence they proceeded to Philippi, in Macedonia. This city, which Augustus had made a Roman colony, was the scene of the first preaching of the gospel in Europe. On the sabbath after their arrival the missionaries went through the city gate to the Jewish house of prayer, which was situated, as usual, near the river for the convenience of the worshippers who were thus enabled to perform the prescribed ablutions before offering their prayers. Here they found certain women, to whom they spoke about the object of their visit, and amongst them was a proselyte known as Lydia, or "the Lydian woman," because she came from Thyatīra, in Lydia. She was a seller of purple dye. Now this woman listened to Paul's preaching

[1] Galatians iii. 1 ff., iv. 18, v. 7, vi. 9, 10.

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with extreme interest, and before long she was converted and baptised with all her household, and begged the missionaries to take up their abode with her.

But few particulars are known of their stay at Philippi, which certainly lasted a good many weeks. Their work prospered, and a community was founded to which Paul was always deeply attached to the day of his death; and it returned his affection, became his pride and joy, and, while so many others fell away from him, always remained faithful and obedient. More than once in the period we are now considering, and afterwards when he was a prisoner at Rome, Paul consented to receive pecuniary assistance from his friends at Philippi, though he had made it a general rule to provide for his own support.[1] Amongst the apostle's fellow-labourers at Philippi two women, Euodia and Syntyche, and two men, Clement and Epaphroditus, are mentioned by name.[2]—All this deserves our confidence; but the following account of the way in which the stay at Philippi was brought to a close certainly cannot be accepted as it stands:—

As the missionaries were going to the place of prayer, they were met by a certain slave girl who was possessed of a spirit of divination, which brought her owners great profit. Perhaps she was a ventriloquist. Now she followed the preachers, day after day, and pointed them out to everyone as servants of the Most High, who preached the way of salvation. At last, Paul was grieved by what she did, and commanded the spirit, in the name of Jesus Christ, to come out of her, which it immediately did. But by this action he drew down upon himself the enmity of the girl's proprietors, for he had deprived them of a considerable source of profit. Accordingly they seized the first opportunity of laying hold of Paul and Silas, and dragging them before the chief magistrates, the Duumvirs, in the market place. They denounced them

[1] Philippians i. 5, ii. 12, iv. 14–16. [2] Philippians iv. 2, 3, ii. 25.

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as Jews, who had thrown the city into commotion, and who taught a foreign religion which it was illegal for them, as Roman citizens, to adopt.[1] The people vociferously demanded that the two strangers should be punished, and the magistrates, tearing their clothes from their backs, ordered a severe scourging to be administered to them, after which they were thrown into prison, with special orders to the jailer to keep them securely. Accordingly they were locked in the inmost dungeon, with their feet in the stocks.—So far from being terrified, Paul and Silas only rejoiced that they were thought worthy to suffer in the good cause; and they offered up their prayers and made the prison ring with their songs of praise, so that all the other prisoners listened. And so the hour of midnight came. Then suddenly the foundations of the prison shook with a mighty earthquake, while all the doors flew open of themselves, and all the fetters dropped from the prisoners' limbs. The jailer waked, and, when he saw the doors wide open, thinking that all the prisoners had escaped, and knowing that he was responsible for their safe custody, he drew his sword in despair and was going to kill himself. But Paul cried out, "Do yourself no violence, for we are all here!" Then the jailer called for a light, rushed in and fell down trembling before Paul and Silas, whom he now recognised as messengers of God. He brought them out of the prison, and said, "Masters! what must I do to be saved?" They told him he must believe in the Christ, preached the gospel to him and his household, and baptised them that same night. He on his side washed and mollified the wounds they had received from the scourges, took them with him to his own house and set food before them, rejoicing greatly that he and all his household had learned to believe in God.—In the morning the magistrates sent the lictors to dismiss the two preachers; and the jailer told them that they

[1] Compare Vol. V., p. 3.

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could go in peace. But Paul would not accept this message. They had been publicly maltreated and condemned to prison, he urged, in defiance of the law which forbade the scourging of Roman citizens, and were they now to be smuggled out in secrecy? No, let the magistrates themselves come and conduct them out of the prison honourably! When the duumvirs received this message they were alarmed to find that they had unwittingly infringed upon the privileges of Roman citizens; so they led them out of the prison with a courteous apology, and begged them to leave the city for fear of fresh commotions. Accordingly they took leave of the brethren in Lydia's house and then departed.

We cannot accept this narrative as true. The conduct of the magistrates, who have no good reason either for their savage enmity at first or their remarkable courtesy afterwards, the conduct of Paul himself, who does not plead his Roman citizenship till too late, the superfluous miracle of the earthquake, which in some way causes all the fetters to fall from the prisoners' limbs, the wonderful self-restraint of the prisoners themselves, not one of whom escapes, Paul's knowledge of the fact, though he is situated in the inmost cell and all is darkness, and other such features in the story put it beyond all doubt that it is a fiction framed on the model of the miraculous deliverance of the Twelve, and afterwards of Peter.[1] The only circumstances we can accept as facts are that a slave girl, who was possessed, shouted after Paul, which the eye-witness mentions, and that the preachers were severely handled at Philippi, as we are told elsewhere, probably by Paul himself.[2]

The preachers of Christ now followed the great highway through Amphipŏlis and Apollonĭa, and in four days reached

[1] See pp. 182 ff., 186 ff., 239, 240.
[2] 1 Thessalonians ii. 2. Compare 2 Corinthians xi. 25.

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Thessalonica, the capital of the second district of Macedonia, an important and populous commercial centre. Undaunted by their sufferings at Philippi, they resumed their task at Thessalonica and met with great success. Their gospel found ready access, and a community of heathens was soon established who received it as a message from God with so much warmth that the new religion rapidly spread, and in consequence of the close intercourse between Thessalonica and the surrounding country, and its extensive commercial relations with other places, the news of the movement spread far and wide.[1] Not that there was no resistance! Constantly, and from the very first, the believers had much to endure from their unconverted fellow-townsmen, but in spite of everything they were filled with joy to think of the salvation that awaited them, for the preachers had warned them from the first that they must expect to be oppressed before the Christ should return, bringing blessings and glory to all who had confessed him.[2] It is probable, too, that the preachers were greatly harassed and at last expelled by the Jewish residents at Thessalonica, who could not endure that the kingdom of God should be promised to the heathens. This premature departure was a great grief to Paul, for he had thoroughly set his heart on establishing a flourishing community, and he had not been able to stay as long as he wished or thought necessary.[3]

The book of Acts makes Paul conform to the rule which it has imposed upon him before,[4] and begin by demonstrating to the Jews in the synagogue, on three successive sabbaths, that the Scripture foretold the suffering and resurrection of the Messiah, and proved that Jesus was he. The author has preserved the name of the man with whom Paul and Silas stayed, which was Jason, and the names of three other

[1] 1 Thessalonians i. 7—9, ii. 13, 14.
[2] 1 Thessalonians i. 6, 10, ii. 14, iii. 3, 4.
[3] 1 Thessalonians ii. 15 ff. [4] See p. 240.

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brethren who subsequently accompanied Paul upon some of his journeys, namely: Gaius, Aristarchus, and Secundus. His account of the termination of Paul's visit is as follows:— When the gospel had made great way, especially amongst the proselytes and distinguished women, the Jews became jealous, stirred up a good-for-nothing rabble to make a riotous attack upon Jason's house in hopes of finding the preachers there, and, failing in this, dragged Jason himself and certain other Christians before the magistrates. They accused them of harbouring men who were turning the world upside down and demanding allegiance to their king, Jesus, instead of the emperor. But the authorities set Jason and the rest at liberty when they had given sureties for the conduct of their guests.

Under cover of night the preachers now made their way to Berœa, where, according to the Acts, they again addressed themselves expressly to the Jews. They found them more willing to hear them, more interested in what they said, and less wedded to their prejudices than their fellow-believers at Thessalonica had been; and their labours met with success. But the Jews of Thessalonica hearing that Paul was preaching the gospel at Berœa, went after him and succeeded in stirring up the mob against him. The faithful, of whom Sopăter alone is mentioned by name, immediately conveyed Paul to the sea shore and escorted him to Athens, whence they returned with a request from him to Silas and Timothy, who had stayed at Berœa, to join him as soon as possible.—

This narrative is slightly inaccurate in certain points. In reality when Paul had been compelled to leave Thessalonica he made more than one fruitless effort to return. At last he could bear it no longer, and from Athens he sent Timothy, though it left him single-handed himself, to strengthen the believers at Thessalonica under the oppression they were suffering.[1]

[1] 1 Thessalonians ii. 17, 18, iii. 1, 2, 11.

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Paul at Athens! The gospel of the crucified Nazarene had reached the centre of Grecian culture, philosophy, art, and eloquence! The insignificant Jewish preacher stood at the focus of the world's æsthetic, intellectual, and scholarly life!

The very nature of the case forbade the new religion from making any rapid progress in this brilliant society, where it could only seem a folly and could only meet with ridicule. Love of sensuous gratification rejected the demands of self-denial; refined taste was equally offended by the cross itself, and by the person and address of its emissaries; in a word, the conception of life and the philosophy of the universe which these preachers held were alike and utterly foreign to the tone of Athens. And yet the future of Christianity depended upon its power of ultimately bringing the Grecian spirit under the control of its influence, and availing itself of its manifold capacities and its noble powers. It is one of Paul's chief merits, one of the strongest proofs of the value of his doctrines, that his profound and philosophical conceptions secured this victory at last.

It was a moment of deep import, then, when the apostle of the gentiles, full of zeal as ever, raised his voice in the very heart of Greece. But at first he excited little or no attention, and his harvest was but small. Indeed he had no intention of taking up his abode for any length of time at Athens, and after labouring there but a little while he went on to Corinth. Of the small circle won for the Christ at Athens we have the names of Dionysius, a member of the highest judicial body, who figures in ecclesiastical tradition as the first bishop (overseer) of the community at Athens, and of a woman named Damăris.

The author of Acts, to whom we owe the preservation of these names, caught the dramatic interest of the moment when Christianity was first preached at Athens, though he

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never grasped the meaning of the Pauline gospel in all its depth and compass. Here then he gives us a kind of counterpart to his picture of Stephen's preaching and experiences at Jerusalem. He borrows his colours from what he knew of the reception given to the gospel by cultivated Greeks of his own day; and bringing Paul to the hill of Ares (Mars), where the supreme court of judicature, the special guardian of religious laws, used to hold its sittings, he puts a discourse upon his lips which is distinguished by the remarkable felicity of its introduction and the beauty of its thoughts, but is foreign alike in form and substance to the mind of the apostle. He tells us, then, that Paul was deeply shocked by the idolatry of Athens; and it is true that the city was remarkably rich in temples, altars, and statues of the deities, unequalled in beauty anywhere. He spoke in the synagogue, continues our author, with the Jews and proselytes, and in the market-place daily with anyone that he could meet. Certain philosophers, too, of different schools, Epicureans and Stoics, argued with him. But one despised his words as mere babbling, while another taxed him with proclaiming foreign gods, Jesus and Resurrection—the crime for which Socrates in days gone by had been forced to drink the hemlock. At last curiosity, which was the ruling passion of the people of Athens, urged them to conduct him to the Areopăgus (Ares' hill) and invite him to expound these novel doctrines to them. His discourse was at once a defence of himself and an exposition of the gospel, and he attached it to an inscription he had seen upon an altar that ran: "To an unknown god." Yes! this god whom they knew not; the Creator and Ruler of all things; the All-sufficing, who was not far from His offspring, man; who could not be represented by an image, the lifeless product of a human hand; even Him did he preach to them! Then he urged them to repent, for the last judgment was at hand, the judgment

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by a man whom God had raised from the realms of death.—A man raised from the dead! That was too much for the gravity of the Athenians. They would listen to him no longer. Some openly ridiculed him, others put on an appearance of courtesy and interest, but the result was meagre in the extreme.

From Athens Paul went on to Corinth. Corinth was the capital of the Roman province of Achaia, the seat of the governor, renowned from of old for its commerce and manufactures above any other city in Greece, marvellously favoured by nature, since it lay upon an isthmus between two bays, and was flanked by its harbours of Lechæum on the west and Cenchrĕæ on the east, lavishly but tastefully embellished by art, proverbial for its wealth, its luxury, and its licentiousness. Here Paul established himself for the present, as the place seemed admirably adapted to serve as a centre for his missionary labours. He began by seeking the means of supporting himself by his trade, and this brought him into contact with a certain Jew of the name of Aquila. He was a native of Pontus, but he had just now come, together with his wife, Prisca or Priscilla, from Rome. The cause of their leaving that city was that the emperor Claudius had ordered all the Jews out of Rome, in consequence, it would appear, of some disturbances; but so many Jews were settled there that we can hardly suppose the edict was ever strictly enforced, and in any case it was very soon allowed to lapse. Now this Aquila was a tentmaker, like Paul himself, so the latter took up his abode with him, and they worked together. Whether Aquila and his wife were already Christians, or whether Paul converted them, we are not told. We only know that they afterwards settled at Ephesus, and are repeatedly mentioned in Paul's letters as believers, in whose house a little band of Christians regularly met, and as fellow-

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labourers of his own who had even risked their lives for him.[1]

As soon as the apostle arrived at Corinth he began his work as the messenger of Christ with his accustomed zeal; and when he was joined soon afterwards by Silas and Timothy, who came from Thessalonica, the three seized every opportunity of prosecuting their task. Paul himself confesses that he began his labours amidst these totally new surroundings with extreme trepidation, fearing that his want of Greek culture would be fatal to his success; but he adds that he fulfilled his task in the demonstration of the holy spirit and of the power of God.[2] In view of the approaching day of judgment, at the establishment of the kingdom of God, he preached in all simplicity, as to first beginners, the gospel of the crucified one, whose death was the salvation of all who would believe.—According to Acts, both Paul and his companions confined themselves as usual to the synagogue at first. There Paul endeavoured every sabbath to convince the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah; but when they persistently rejected and reviled his message, he felt at liberty to turn to the heathens, and after that he never went into the synagogue again, but preached in the house of a proselyte called Justus, who lived close by. Now, all this is simply dictated by the writer's well-known misconception of Paul's apostolate to the heathens;[3] but when he tells us that Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, became a believer, the statement finds confirmation elsewhere; for we happen to know that by a rare exception[4] Paul baptised him with his own hand, as also a certain Gaius, in whose house he subsequently lodged, and who exercised hospitality to the whole community. Before either of these he had likewise baptised the household of Stephănas, who is honourably mentioned

[1] 1 Corinthians xvi. 19; Romans xvi. 3, 4. Compare Acts xviii. 18, 26; 2 Timothy iv. 19. [2] 1 Corinthians ii. 3, 4.

[3] See p. 240, and 1 Corinthians xii. 2. [4] See p. 235.

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as "the firstfruits of Achaia."[1] Together with this Stephănas, we hear of Fortunātus and Achaïcus, of a woman called Phœbe, who was deaconess of the community at Cenchreæ, and rendered the greatest services to the good cause; of Erastus, the city treasurer; of Quartus and others.[2] Thus the circle of believers gradually swelled, and was distinguished by keen interest in the gospel and great spiritual activity. We read in Acts that the Christ appeared by night to Paul, and urged him to preach courageously, for he would support him and would frustrate every hostile design, and there were many souls in Corinth ready to receive the gospel. The apostle himself says nothing of this vision. He only tells us that his converts were for the most part ignorant men, of no position, slaves and the refuse of society, and that the previous lives of many of them left very much to be desired.[3]

Paul worked a year and a half at Corinth; but we must not suppose that he never left the city all this time. He visited the two harbours, the places in the neighbourhood, and many more distant cities of Achaia, as we may gather from the superscriptions of his two letters to the Corinthians.[4] In consequence of these expeditions he was not always in a position to provide for his own support, but he never either asked or received any help from those amongst whom he was labouring. Some of the Macedonian believers, however, probably Philippians, sent him assistance, which he thankfully accepted.[5] Only one event is chronicled in Acts during all this period, and that one serves the author's purpose of representing the Romans as more friendly to the gospel than the Jews. Gallio, we are told (a brother of the celebrated Seneca, and a man of very lovable and exalted character),

[1] 1 Corinthians i. 14, 16, xvi. 15, 17; Romans xvi. 23.
[2] Romans xvi. 1, 2, 23. [3] 1 Corinthians i. 26–28, vi. 9–11.
[4] 1 Corinthians i. 2; 2 Corinthians i. 1. [5] 2 Corinthians xi. 8, 9.

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was governor of Achaia; and the Jews rose against Paul as one man and dragged him before his judgment seat, saying that he was one who taught men to serve God in a manner that conflicted with the Law. But Gallio did not so much as ask Paul for his defence. He told the accusers that they had brought no criminal charge against Paul, and that he had no intention of mixing himself up with their religious disputes. They must settle them amongst themselves. Upon this he dismissed them, and the people seized their leader, Sosthĕnes, who had succeeded Crispus as ruler of the synagogue, and beat him, while Gallio looked on and did not interfere. Paul, continues our author, still remained some time at Corinth, and then took leave of the community and crossed over with Aquila and Priscilla to Ephesus.

We cannot fail to observe the extreme brevity with which this period of the life of Paul is treated, although the splendour and importance of the city, the success of the preaching, and above all the remarkable subsequent history of the community combine to make it exceedingly important. Had the author no means of information at command? Or was the very fact that Corinth soon became the scene of divisions and sectarian animosities the true cause of his brevity? We are almost inclined to accept this latter explanation, especially when we remember how careful he is to make the main stress fall upon the apostle's preaching at Athens, though he hardly left any traces behind him there.

Our means of filling in the gap are very scanty. We have already mentioned a few details gleaned from the first epistle to the Corinthians and the sixteenth chapter of Romans. We may add that if the first epistle to the Thessalonians is genuine, as we have assumed it to be, then it was written at Corinth during this period, in the name not only of Paul himself but also of Silvanus (Silas) and Timothy,

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who must therefore have been with the apostle at the time, and who were also held in honour at Thessalonica as his fellow-labourers. This was the first occasion on which Paul had endeavoured to make up by writing for the want of personal intercourse and preaching. The epistle, if authentic, is the earliest specimen of Christian literature. Its contents show what anxious care the apostle had felt for this community, the preservation and prosperity of which he held to be of extremest consequence to the prospects of the gospel. He had dreaded the effect of the persecutions it had had to endure from the heathen population, but Timothy had now rejoiced his heart by bringing him a favourable report. It appeared, however, that his announcement of the approaching end of the world had produced a deeper impression than his exhortations to a spotless life, which he now repeated with great emphasis. He condemned the ill-balanced zeal which disturbed the lives of many of the converts, and insisted on the quiet and orderly behaviour of which he had given them an example himself in diligently working for his own support. He also instructed them as to the prospects of those who died before the return of Jesus. They would not be at a disadvantage in any particular as compared with those who lived to see it. When Jesus at a given sign—the voice of an archangel and the trumpet of God—should come down from heaven, the believers who had died would first be raised, and then they would be caught up into the air, together with the living, to escort Jesus to the earth in all his glory, and thenceforth to dwell with him for ever.

"The day of the Lord will come as secretly as a thief in the night. Let us therefore be wakeful and sober,"[1] intent on our salvation, persevering in our faith, and holy in our lives! This was doubtless the substance of his preaching at

[1] 1 Thessalonians v. 2, 6.

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Corinth as at Thessalonica. It was this thought that urged him to incessant labours; and the field was not ungrateful, though it was very hard to till. The soil was fruitful, but was choked with most pernicious weeds. The internal condition of this Corinthian community, the first of any consequence that had been established in Greece, continued to demand the utmost care and attention, especially with regard to the lives of the members. The immorality of Corinth was notorious throughout the ancient world. It was here that Paul, from his own observations, drew his dark picture of the terrible moral degradation of the heathen world. Amongst the believers themselves were some who had formerly been guilty of all manner of unnatural offences; and though Paul said: "Now you are purified and hallowed and justified," yet in reality the force of evil custom was not broken in a day, or the moral renovation completed all at once.

At Antioch, at Thessalonica, and wherever the gospel was preached, but at Corinth more than anywhere, there was a sense in which the conversion of the heathens was a veritable casting out of devils,[1] for a spirit of loathsome impurity, with many another mighty demon of moral corruption, had to be expelled from them. We will therefore add, in this connection, a scene which appears in the first three gospels, and represents this effect of the preaching of Christ in visible form. Though subsequent transformations and additions may greatly have obscured its original clearness, yet its signification is not doubtful. Let us judge for ourselves!

Jesus had crossed the sea of Galilee in a south-eastern direction and landed in the region of Gadăra (or Gerăsa), which was largely inhabited by heathens.[2] And there a man came rushing to meet him who had long been possessed by an unclean spirit. He was naked and always lived amongst the graves. No one could tame him or even hold

[1] See pp. 211, 243, 244. [2] See Vol. V., pp. 361, 363.

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him in chains, for whenever anyone had tried, the madman had broken the chains to pieces and shattered the fetters. Day and night he lived amongst the tombs and caves, shrieking, cutting himself with stones, and falling upon the passers by. Hardly had he seen Jesus afar off when he [rushed up to him, threw himself down before him and] shrieked: "What do you want with me, O Jesus, Son of the Most High? In the name of God, plunge me not into the tortures of the abyss until the last day comes!" [For he commanded the unclean spirit to come out of him.] "What is your name?" asked Jesus. "My name is Legion," was the reply, for there was a host of demons in the unhappy man; and they begged Jesus passionately to allow them to enter into a herd of swine that was feeding there on the mountain. He gave them permission, and in a moment a thousand and yet another thousand swine had rushed over the precipice and were drowned in the sea.—The swineherds fled in consternation, and reported what had happened in the city and the country round. Then the people came out to see for themselves, and there they saw the former demoniac clothed and in his right mind, sitting at the feet of Jesus. In great dismay they implored Jesus to leave their country. [And when he embarked, the man he had rescued begged to be allowed to go with him, but was not allowed to do so. He must return to his own people and tell them how God had taken pity on him.]

So runs the story in its completed form, as given in Mark and Luke. Matthew has two demoniacs,[1] but in other respects is far shorter and simpler. The later traits in the story are partly due to misconception, for our Evangelists imagined that it was all to be taken literally; but we must not be misled by this. We must remember that to the Jews tombs and swine represented the most loathsome forms of

[1] Compare Vol. V., p. 455.

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uncleanness, and that swine stood specifically for heathenism regarded in its most repulsive light.[1] Observe again that every means of compulsion (by which the ancient systems of law are meant) failed even to restrain the host of unclean spirits (which incidentally represent the great number of heathen deities,[2] as well as the moral corruption of the heathens); but soon the mighty word of Christ expels them, to the terror of the world which loves them. Again, when the healed demoniac is told to go to his own people, it is a charge to the converted heathens to communicate their privileges to others. Finally, we must remember that it was a settled custom—in a certain sense defensible—to ascribe to Jesus himself whatever was done in his spirit and by his messengers.

The original meaning of this story, therefore, is distinct enough; and it points us in the first instance to the fruits of the labours of Paul, which we shall find indicated more than once hereafter under the same emblematic form. His influence and the work that he accomplished might well be celebrated thus! We have seen him carry the battle against heathenism into the heart of the ancient civilisation. The gospel is now established in Europe.

Chapter VIII.

PAUL AT EPHESUS.

2 Corinthians XI. 23—29; Acts XVIII. 18—23, XIX. 1—20, 23—41; Galatians; Mark IX. 38—40; Matthew XII. 22—37.[3]

WITH Paul's journey from Corinth to Ephesus and his settlement in the latter city begins the closing period of his apostolic labours. This period extends over some four

[1] Compare Vol. V., p. 319. [2] Compare 1 Corinthians x. 20.
[3] Luke ix. 49, 50, xi. 14, 15, 17—23, xii. 10; Mark iii. 22—30.

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years (55—59 A.D.), and was marked by the same intensity of successful effort as before; but it was mournfully distinguished by a violent and painful conflict with Jewish-Christianity, which threatened to make the communities Paul had established desert him.

His life had been one of restless activity ever since he began to preach the Christ. When we trace the extent of his journeyings upon the map; when we remember what varied and formidable difficulties the traveller of those days had to contend against, and how rare and imperfect the means and opportunities of locomotion were, especially such means as a simple workman could command; and, lastly, when we consider the perpetual dangers of every description to which Paul was constantly exposed, we are lost in admiration of his courage and perseverance. Especially when we reflect that the cause itself for which he traversed sea and land was one that involved him in constant difficulties and exposed him to ceaseless ridicule, opposition, and persecution. And now a far more grievous trouble was added to all these, for the systematic agitation and opposition of Jewish believers threw his whole preaching of the gospel and the whole future of his communities into a position of extremest danger, threatening more than anything else to destroy the work of his life. But though all hope sometimes seemed lost, though his heart full often bled from piercing wounds, though his bodily strength gave way under the strain, still he persevered, and the might of his spirit and the perseverance of his faith won glorious triumphs in the end.[1] Let us listen to his own account, given towards the close of this period, of his experiences for the previous twenty years.

Much against his will, for he hated boasting, he compares himself with his opponents. There was not one of them who had laboured so unremittingly, who had so often

[1] See for example 2 Corinthians i. 8, 9; ii. 4, iv. 16 ff., &c.

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braved maltreatment, imprisonment, and mortal peril for the sake of Christ, as he had done. "Five times have I received forty stripes save one from the Jews; thrice have I been beaten with rods" by the Romans; "once have I been stoned; thrice have I suffered shipwreck; a whole day and night have I been in the deep"—tossed on a spar.

Here we may pause to note that the writer of the Acts says nothing of the heavy scourgings administered by the Jews in the synagogue, the like of which were sometimes fatal; that he only tells us of one occasion, at Philippi, on which the yet more barbarous Roman punishment was inflicted upon Paul; and that the latter's Roman citizenship can only be maintained in the face of these scourgings on the supposition that the rights of the obscure Jew were constantly despised with arbitrary violence. The author of Acts has preserved the record of Paul's being stoned (at Lystra)—an onslaught from which hardly anyone had ever escaped alive—but the only shipwreck of which he has anything to tell us took place after this time, and must have made a fourth.

Paul goes on to say that on his numerous journeys he had been in constant danger of drowning as he crossed over rivers, perhaps swimming, or of falling into the hands of robbers as he journeyed through unfrequented regions; that he had been "in danger from his fellow-countrymen," who fiercely persecuted him as an apostate; "in danger from the heathens," who only saw an atheist or rioter in their benefactor; "in danger in the cities" of tumultuous violence; "in danger in the deserts" of losing himself and dying of hunger; "in danger at sea" of being shipwrecked and drowned; "in danger," above all, of seeing his work, his peace, his liberty, perhaps his very life, destroyed by "false brethren," his Jewish-Christian enemies.

"Toil and pain," he continues, "and watching nights; hunger and thirst, and constant fasting; cold and nakedness,

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have been my life! And besides all the rest I have the constant daily thought and care for all the churches. Never is one of my converts weak in faith or conscience but I feel his weakness as though it were my own; never is one of them betrayed into apostasy or sin but my heart burns with shame and indignation."

A year or two before, when he had recently undergone severe ill-treatment it would seem, he had written,[1] "Henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear about on my body the marks that I belong to Jesus;" and not long afterwards[2] (in 58 A.D.), "Up to this very hour have hunger, thirst, nakedness, maltreatment, wandering, and heavy manual toil been our lot. When reviled we bless, when persecuted we endure it, when slandered we render consolation. We are held the very refuse and offscourings of the world to this day." But all this did not crush him. "We are oppressed on every side," he writes elsewhere,[3] "but not afflicted, perplexed but not despairing, persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but not destroyed." For it was in this very weakness that the might of his Lord revealed itself. "Therefore I rejoice in infirmities, in sufferings, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake, for when I am weakest then am I also strongest" in Him.[4]

We naturally refer these general descriptions drawn from the letters of Paul, primarily to the period in which they were written, and we are perfectly safe in assigning some of the specific sufferings of imprisonment, scourging, and shipwreck to the same period. But here the author of Acts leaves us entirely in the dark. We saw just now, more clearly than ever, how very imperfect his account of the previous period was, but here he fails us altogether. A great

[1] Galatians vi. 17. [2] 1 Corinthians iv. 11—13.
[3] 2 Corinthians iv. 8, 9. [4] 2 Corinthians xii. 10.

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deal of what he does tell us is impossible to believe, and he passes over matters of extreme importance in absolute silence. He says that before leaving Corinth Paul had taken the vow of a Nazirite. We know that this is a moral impossibility; but it is far from the only occasion upon which our author transforms the apostle of the heathens into a rigid Jew.[1] Then he makes him leave his friends Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus and take his journey, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Jews in the synagogue who desire him to stay with them, through Cæsarea to Jerusalem. His object in going to the City of the Temple was to celebrate one of the Jewish feasts, and he took the opportunity of visiting the primitive community. Then he spent some time at Antioch, after which he returned through Galatia and Phrygia to Ephesus, where he staid for three whole years.—So says the book of Acts, but we know enough of Paul to be sure that he would not visit Jerusalem for the purpose here assigned to him, nor were his relations with the brethren there of such a character that he would wish to pay them a flying visit when there was no necessity for him to do so. We may therefore strike out the whole of this parenthetical journey and assume that Paul established himself at once in Ephesus, the populous and stirring capital of the Roman province of Asia. We must not understand, however, that he made the city his permanent abode. It simply served as the centre of his activity, and from it he visited his converts in Galatia, founded fresh communities in various cities in the province,[2] perhaps crossed over for a visit to Corinth,[3] and perhaps even penetrated to the remote Illyria.[4] After three years spent in Ephesus our authorities agree in making him leave this city, pass through Troas into Macedonia and thence

[1] See pp. 240, 241, and chapter x.
[2] 1 Corinthians xvi. 19; Revelation ii. iii. [3] 2 Corinthians xii. 14, xiii. 1.
[4] Romans xv. 19.

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to Achaia, spend several months in Corinth, and then return through Macedonia and travel along the coast of Asia Minor to Jerusalem.

Let us begin with the visit to Galatia, which took place early in the Ephesian period.

We have not forgotten the zeal and joy with which Paul's gospel was received and embraced by the Galatians. But some months after his departure certain emissaries from Jerusalem came into the district and gave the Galatians very different instruction from what they had received from Paul. They announced themselves as coming from the original community and the personal disciples of the Messiah whom Paul had preached, and declared that these disciples, who were the only qualified expounders of their Master's teaching, knew nothing of the repeal of the Old Covenant, of the Law and circumcision, or of a new way opened to salvation by the so-called justification by faith. What Paul said about all this being implied and proved by the death of Jesus on the cross was palpably untrue, they urged; for it was inconsistent with the unalterable fidelity and sanctity of God himself, and in direct contradiction with the Holy Scripture. And as for this Paul, he was not really an apostle at all, but a man who had drawn all his true knowledge of Jesus from Peter, James, and the community at Jerusalem, had added many pernicious errors of his own, and now made most exorbitant pretensions. His followers would certainly be excluded from the rights of citizenship in the kingdom of the Messiah, which were not to be obtained by simple faith in the Christ without submission to the Law and circumcision. As for themselves, they had come in generous concern for the weal of the Galatians, to warn them against this false teaching, and to take them into Israel, the people of the Lord, so that they really might become heirs of the Messianic kingdom.

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No wonder that the Galatians were shaken in their allegiance to Paul, and that many of them deserted him. A certain number of them, we know not how many, began to observe the Jewish feast days with scrupulous care, and even had themselves circumcised.[1] It seemed but reasonable to put greater confidence in the Twelve and in the Scripture than in the self-announced preacher who only came upon his own authority.—But Paul's distress and indignation knew no bounds when he heard what had happened. He was drawn by the closest ties to this community of converts, as a mother is drawn to her children; he had felt such special joy and satisfaction in them, and now to think of their throwing off their allegiance and being faithless to his principles!—He hastened to visit them in person. Words ran high. He launched his curse upon all who preached another gospel than his. Sometimes he spoke so roundly, and told his Galatian friends the truth so plainly, that it almost seemed as if he had become their enemy.—And when he had returned to Ephesus, he wrote them a letter with his own hand, which was quite against his usual practice. This letter was instinct with passion, burning alike with tenderness and indignation, overwhelming in its cogency, appalling in its bursts of stormy feeling, impetuous in its attacks, and melting in its appeals. In a word, it was the true reflection both of the character of the writer and of the conflict that raged in the bosom of Apostolic Christianity; and, at the same time, it was the glowing vindication of Paul's gospel against the attacks of the believers of Jerusalem.

The first words of the epistle breathe a certain feeling of bitterness on the writer's part against those who would make him a disciple of men—"Paul, an apostle, not of men nor by a man, but by Jesus Christ himself and God, the Father." Immediately after the superscription and greeting, he re-

[1] Galatians i. 6, iii. 1, iv. 9, 10, v. 1 ff.

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proaches the Galatians with having fallen away from his gospel to another, which did not deserve the name; and repeats his curse upon the preachers who had seduced them. Then he gives an elaborate historical proof, drawn from his own past and from the critical events at Jerusalem and Antioch, of the divine origin and contents of his preaching to the heathens, and of his own apostolic independence. Nothing could be more false than that he owed anything whatever to human intervention or influence. Then he shows that his gospel of justification by faith, without the Law, confirmed as it is by Christian experience, agrees with the divine revelation in history and in the Scripture. Was not the promise of salvation made to Abraham, the believer, more than four centuries before the Law? And is it not, therefore, evident that the latter was but a temporary dispensation made because of sin, and that since the Christ has come it has lost its authority over the faithful, the true children of Abraham, the heirs of the promise, just as much as the religious laws of the heathen have? Finally, he reminds them in a practical or hortatory conclusion that the obligation to purity of life has not been relaxed with the cancelling of the Law; for Christian liberty is not liberty to sin, but is life according to the spirit.—He spares no one; he puts his adversaries in the most unfavourable light possible; he speaks in a tone of bitterness of the three pillars of the community, to whose authority an appeal against him was constantly made, and whom, alas! he could not claim as sympathising with him. "Whoever troubles you," he cries, "shall bear his judgment, *be he what he may!*" Nay, he pushes his own views to their extremest consequences, and declares that anyone who allows himself to be circumcised thereby pledges himself to fulfil the whole Law, which is impossible, has separated himself from the Christ, and has fallen from grace!

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The effect produced by this memorable letter is not known; but a few years afterwards Paul speaks of certain injunctions he had recently laid upon the Galatians,[1] in a manner which implies the restoration of a good understanding between himself and the majority, if not the whole, of the Galatian church. But this did not put an end to the contest, which, in fact, was only now beginning, and was destined to increase in violence. The fire, though smothered here, broke out with fresh violence elsewhere. Henceforth Jewish-Christian preachers were continually showing their zeal for the kingdom of God by appearing in Paul's communities, often armed with letters of commendation from Jerusalem, given them by the community at large or by the Twelve, or by James, to strengthen them in their attempts to wrest the heathen converts from their apostle.

Here let us pause and try to form a clear conception of the extent and nature of the direct or indirect obstruction which Paul experienced from the Apostles, together with his own relations to them and the violent hostility between him and the Judaizing fanatics.

It stands to reason that if the Judaizers had not been in any way supported by the heads of the Jerusalem community, and had not been able to appeal to the personal friends and the brothers of Jesus, they would have had but little power to injure Paul. It is equally obvious that if Paul had been able to say that the Twelve distinctly repudiated these fanatics and so far from making common cause with them believed and taught as he did, he would not have omitted to do so, and would have extinguished the opposition instantly. And yet, however great and undeniable their differences may have been, we might well be inclined to ask how the Apostles, when once they had given the hand of fellowship to Paul,

[1] See pp. 319, 320.

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could bring themselves to furnish his enemies with letters of commendation!

But their conduct is far from inexplicable when we reflect that the scheme into which the three "pillars" had been forced by the mighty personal influence of Paul was nothing on their side but an uneasy compromise, resting on no reasonable principle, and had broken down as soon as it was tested at Antioch. What? Was there really to be one preaching of the Christ to the Jews and another to the heathens—the one with and the other without the obligation to observe the Law? It must be either one or the other! Either observance of the Law was a condition of admittance into the kingdom of God or it was not. If it was, then the heathens must comply with it; if it was not, then the Jews were free from it. The Apostles, then, were compelled either to advance or to retreat—and they could not advance.[1] Paul, on the other hand, had remained true to his position and his principles, but most likely he had not laid great stress, when in Jerusalem, upon his belief that the Law was abrogated for the Jew, as soon as he had faith in Christ, no less than for the heathen;[2] at any rate he had not worked it out and driven it to the extreme conclusions we have seen developed in the epistle to the Galatians; he had not absolutely forbidden the observance of the Law on pain of exclusion from the kingdom of God,[3] for this was a deduction which at that time he probably had not made himself, and which he subsequently withdrew when his mood was less bitter.[4] Enough! He may well have seemed to violate the convention in one way or another and so to free the Apostles from their pledge to him. And, in fact, the agreement "You to the heathens, we to the Jews" was impossible permanently to observe, especially since it made no provision for the peculiar circumstances of mixed communities.

[1] See p. 256. [2] Romans vii. 1—6; Galatians ii. 15—21.
[3] Galatians v. 2—6. [4] Romans xiv.; see p. 328.

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Then we must remember that James was really a man of different spirit from Peter, and we can readily believe that the systematic opposition which Paul encountered was chiefly his work; though the history of the Corinthian community will presently show us that Peter also had a hand in it. As for the third "pillar," John, he has left no certain trace behind him, and we cannot rely on a single statement made concerning him. But he left the impression of having been a rigid Jew, and probably the following story, preserved by two of our gospels, gives a faithful picture of him, and of the general attitude of the Twelve towards Paul:—

On a certain day John said to Jesus: "Master! We saw a man who does not follow us casting out demons in your name; and we forbade him, because he does not follow us." But Jesus answered: "Forbid him not. For no one who does a deed of power in my name can straightway speak ill of me; and whoever is not against you is for you."

Analogy and the circumstances of the case forbid us to think of veritable demoniacs, and indicate that the casting out of devils here intended is the conversion of heathens; and this is further manifest from the expression of John, "He follows not *us*," and of Jesus, "Whoever is not against *you* is for *you*."[1] Had it been a real event taking place in the life of Jesus, John would have said *you* and Jesus *me*.—Now Paul did not follow them, that is to say he did not submissively accept the views of John and his fellow Apostles, but preached a different gospel from theirs; and, therefore, they threw obstacles across his path. But, says our story, Jesus would emphatically have condemned their conduct. In the first place, the results of Paul's labours were a guarantee of his character, and in the next place they must regard everyone who did not oppose them as on their side.

And Paul did not oppose the Apostles. We can see clearly enough by the epistle to the Galatians how much it some-

[1] Mark ix. 40, *after an amended version*.

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times cost him. But he did make the effort, and refrained from attacking them. It was his desire to say nothing of the difference of views between himself and them, carefully to conceal their opposition, and to bridge over the gulf as best he might; and this is why we are left without any clear and certain indications on this important point. The interests of the good cause imperatively demanded this self-restraint on the part of Paul, for it was excessively difficult for him, inasmuch as he had never known Jesus personally, to maintain his position against the Twelve in the eyes of the converts. Once only, when the necessity of proving his own independence compels him to recount his dispute with Peter at Antioch—once only does he violate this reserve.

But he goes to work very differently with the Judaizing fanatics who appealed to the authority of the Twelve. He did not spare them for a moment, but sometimes attacked them with the greatest violence, and even threw aspersions on their character. In short, he returned their criminations with interest.[1] He called them "false apostles, hypocritical labourers, who put on the appearance of apostles of Christ. What wonder? Did not Satan himself put on the appearance of an angel of light? And was it anything strange for his servants to put on the appearance of the servants of righteousness? But their end should be in accordance with their deeds!"[2] Such were the recriminations that passed backwards and forwards,[3] and it is exceedingly curious to note the traces of this conflict, which was carried on for many and many a year, still left in our gospels. Thus we find the following words laid by the Jewish-Christians upon the Master's lips: "I tell you truly that while this heaven and earth endure not one tittle or one

[1] See pp. 247, 248, and Philippians iii. 2; see chapter xi.
[2] 2 Corinthians xi. 13—15.
[3] Revelation ii. 2, 9, 20, 24, &c.; see chapter xii.

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iota of the Law shall fail, till all be strictly kept. And whosoever shall cancel even the smallest of these commandments, and teach others to do so, shall be counted the least in the kingdom of heaven; but whosoever shall keep them all, and teach others to do so, shall be counted great in the kingdom of heaven."[1] It is obvious that Jesus could not have spoken in such a strain without absolutely contradicting himself, but those who put the words upon his lips as a condemnation of Paul and his supporters did not see this incongruity; and in a certain sense they acted in good faith.—Again, when they made Jesus forbid the preaching to the heathens in the words, "Give not that which is holy to the dogs nor throw your pearls before the swine, lest they should trample them under their feet and then turn upon you and rend you,"[2] they meant to represent the sufferings endured by the messengers to the heathens as nothing in the least to their honour, but simply as the result of their own perversity; but they did not see that at the same time they were branding the conduct of Jesus himself in associating with publicans and sinners.—Still more violent is the attack contained in the warning, of no doubtful purport, put into the mouth of Jesus, "Beware of false prophets who come to you in sheep's clothing, but are ravening wolves within!"[3]—It appears that Jesus had spoken in tones of warning of the numbers who would find themselves deceived in their expectations when the kingdom of God should come, and the orthodox party gave his words a turn which converted them into a condemnation of Paul and his fellow-labourers; for the latter appealed to the results of their labours and the signal manifestations of the Spirit in their communities as the unmistakable guarantee of their mission and the stamp of God's approval,[4] but their opponents made Jesus utter the sentence

[1] Matthew v. 18, 19. [2] Matthew vii. 6. [3] Matthew vii. 15.
[4] Galatians ii. 7, 9, iii. 2, 5, &c.

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of condemnation upon those who, while casting out devils (converting heathens), neglected the Law: "Many will say to me on the last day: Lord, Lord! have we not laboured as prophets in thy name, and in thy name cast out demons, and in thy name done many deeds of power? And then shall I answer them: Never have I acknowledged or known you! Away from me ye who neglect God's law!"[1]

But the Pauline Christians paid them back in the same coin. They, too, made use of that very saying of the Master's, which their adversaries turned against them; but in their hands it became a threat against the Jewish-Christians; for these latter were constantly appealing, against the apostle of the heathens and his followers, to the personal relations in which they or their leaders had stood to Jesus;[2] and accordingly the Paulinists made Jesus say, "When you are rejected and shut out from the kingdom of God,[3] you will begin to say: We have eaten and drunk before thy very eyes, and in our streets hast thou taught! But the Christ will answer: I tell you, I know not whence you are! Away from me all ye workers of unrighteousness!"[4]—They disarmed the solemn declaration of the permanent validity of the whole Law by modifying it thus: "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of my words to fail."[5]—Again, they make the Master chastise with ruthless severity the "false brothers," whose zeal carried them far and near to propagate Jewish-Christian principles in the communities of heathen converts: "You traverse sea and land to make one convert, and when he is gained you make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves," that is to say, twice as intolerant and fanatical.[6] Such, at least, we may regard with high probability as

[1] Matthew vii. 22, 23. [2] 1 Corinthians i. 12; 2 Corinthians x. 7.
[3] See Vol. V., pp. 438, 439. [4] Luke xiii. 26, 27.
[5] Luke xvi. 17, after another version. [6] Matthew xxiii. 15.

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the original significance of this attack, which is now incorporated in the celebrated denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees, culminating in the outburst, "Ye serpents! ye generation of vipers! how shall ye escape the fire of gehenna?"[1] There, at any rate, it is quite out of place, for the Jews were never zealous proselytizers. Just in the same way we find elsewhere the Judaizing zealots who ascribed the success of Paul and his fellow-workers to an alliance with the prince of the false gods or demons, the god of the heathen world, represented as Pharisees who slander Jesus, but are refuted and put to shame by him. We find this picture in all the three Gospels:—

One day they brought a man to Jesus who was possessed by a devil that made him blind and dumb. He healed him, so that he could see and speak. Then the multitudes were filled with amazement, and asked, "May not this man be the son of David?" But when the Pharisees heard it they said, "He only drives out demons by the help of Beelzebul, their prince." Then Jesus, knowing their thoughts, said, "Any kingdom that divides against itself is near its fall, and no city or family that is divided against itself can stand; and if Satan is driving out Satan, then he is divided against himself, and how can his kingdom stand? And again, if I cast out demons in the might of Beelzebul, in whose might do your followers cast them out? Let them be your judges! But if I cast them out by the spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come to you. For how can anyone go into a strong man's house and take away his goods unless he has first bound him? If he has bound him, he can do as he will. Whoever is not with me is against me, and whoever does not help me to gather is scattering abroad. And therefore I tell you that every kind of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven men, except blasphemy against the Spirit. Even

[1] Matthew xxiii. 33.

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those who speak against the Son of man may be forgiven; but he who speaks against the Holy Spirit shall neither be forgiven in this world nor in the world to come."

So the story is told in Matthew, who gives it again elsewhere but without repeating the refutation and rebuke.[1] It is in this connection that he gives the sayings of Jesus about "the tree and its fruits," and about the account which men will have to give at the last judgment of every idle word they have spoken, so that they may be admitted or excluded according to what they have said.[2] Mark has modified or dropped more than one detail in the miracle itself, in the charge that is founded on it, and in the defence of Jesus; in fact, he misunderstands the whole, and presents it in such a form that we can hardly recognise its original meaning. The third Gospel also obscures the sense by separating passages that belong to each other. Taken literally, the whole thing is hardly comprehensible, and neither the proof that the kingdom of Satan would be divided against itself, nor the appeal to what the disciples of the Pharisees themselves are doing, nor the distinction between blasphemy against the Son of man and blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, have any intelligible meaning. This final distinction obviously transports us to the time when Jesus was already gone, to the age of the Spirit, when Paul and his fellow-labourers converted the blind heathens who were helplessly swayed with the dumb idols.[3] His opponents strove to obliterate the powerful impression which his successful labours had produced by ascribing the result to an alliance with Satan.[4] From their own point of view they were partially justified in this. Was it not heathenish, that is devilish,

[1] Matthew ix. 32—34.
[2] See Vol. V., p. 204, and Matthew xii. 36, 37.
[3] Compare Matthew xii. 22 with Romans ii. 19; 1 Corinthians xii. 2.
[4] Revelation ii. 2, 9, 13, 24.

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doctrine to teach that the Law was abrogated, that a heathen mode of life was permissible, and even that eating meat from animals sacrificed to idols was a matter of no consequence? But Paul's friends were deeply wounded by this aspersion. It was blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, the workings of which were so manifest in the progress of the heathen conversions and in the hearts of the Greek believers. This blasphemy implied more guilt, more obstinate and wilful blindness, and was therefore less to be forgiven, than the rejection of Jesus himself, in days gone by, at the hands of the Jews. And when the Jewish-Christians themselves made converts did they use any other means than Paul's? Would Satan himself help to convert his own worshippers to God? Was it not clear, on the contrary, that this mighty ruler of the world was bound, and that one yet stronger than himself had broken into his house and was taking his possessions from him. It was the work of God's Spirit. It was the proof that his kingdom was at hand. All who at this supreme hour were not helping to gather into the fold, all who were introducing divisions and confusion, were resisting the Christ. Let every man beware of the unpardonable sin!

Observe the accuracy with which the parties and the weapons they used are sketched! And if we compare this story with the one already given[1] about John's appeal to Jesus, we shall see how widely the attitude of the Apostles themselves towards the great teacher of the heathens differed from that of the Judaizing fanatics who appealed to their authority. The former did, indeed, throw obstacles in his way, but without a thought of animosity, without the least ascription of unworthy motives to him; the latter shrank from no means of destroying his influence, threw vile aspersions on his personal motives, blackened his character, and denounced him as an emissary of Satan. Paul,

[1] See p. 296.

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on his side, does not attack the Apostles, even though he thinks them open to blame; but both he and his friends pronounce the heaviest condemnation, in the strongest possible terms, upon the Judaizers.

From this digression let us now return to the work of the apostle in the province of Asia. This work centred round Ephesus, the capital of the province, the greatest and most important commercial city, and the great emporium of Asia Minor. Here Paul resumed his trade and very likely lived, as he had done at Corinth, with his friends Aquila and Priscilla, at whose house a band of believers gradually began to hold their regular meetings.[1] According to Acts, Paul began by preaching for three months in the synagogue, but met with so much unbelief and opposition on the part of some of the Jews that he was compelled to withdraw together with his followers. After this he taught every day in "the school of Tyrannus;" but whether this was simply the name of a certain lecture hall, or whether Tyrannus was a converted heathen, we are not told. This went on for two years, until—as our author says with rhetorical exaggeration—all the inhabitants of the province, both Jews and Greeks, had heard the word of the Lord. He also gives us indirectly to understand that Paul found a community of converted Jews already established at Ephesus, and that they now joined him.[2] These details are not certain, but they may be true.

On the other hand, the three following stories are all of them open to the gravest suspicion. They are given in the book of Acts, and are intended to vindicate Paul's apostolic dignity. The first informs us that he found a band of about twelve believers at Ephesus, and that when he asked them whether they had received the Holy Spirit, they answered

[1] See p. 279, and 1 Corinthians xvi. 19 (where the Roman Catholic version reads "Aquila and Priscilla, whose guest I am"). [2] Acts xviii. 27, xix. 9.

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that they had never so much as heard that there was any Holy Spirit, or that anyone could receive it at all. Then it appeared that they had only received the baptism of John, with the obligation to repent and believe in the future Messiah. When Paul had bettered their knowledge they desired to be baptised as believers in Jesus, and when he laid his hands upon them they received the Holy Spirit, spoke with tongues, and prophesied.—This story is transparently intended to vindicate Paul's equality in privilege with Peter and John, whom we shall presently see giving the Holy Spirit to believers who had not yet received it, by laying their hands upon them.[1] But though it is out of the question to accept the story as it stands, yet we dare not say that no historical reminiscence lies at the root of it.

The second story, which serves the same purpose as the first, is a pure fiction: God worked wonderful miracles by the hand of Paul, so that sick people were actually cured and demons expelled by napkins or aprons taken from his person to the sufferers.[2]—Really we might be reading a mediæval legend of a saint's or martyr's relics!

The third story tells us how the fame of Paul became so great that it excited emulation. Certain wandering Jewish exorcists, the seven sons (or disciples) of the high priest Sceva, tried the efficacy of the name of Jesus in a magical formula: "I adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preaches." But the evil spirit upon whom they tried it answered: "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you?" And therewith the demoniac leapt upon them, and they rushed, stripped and bleeding, out of the house. All the Jews and Greeks in Ephesus heard of this and were greatly terrified; while the name of Jesus rose high in fame. Many Christians came to confess the superstitious practices of which they had formerly been guilty, and many who had busied themselves

[1] Acts viii. 15—17. [2] See p. 182.

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with magic, for which Ephesus was notorious, brought their books together and burned them in public, to the value of fifty thousand drachmas (say two thousand pounds sterling). Thus the gospel spread and prospered mightily.—Here, again, the account is full of exaggerations, especially as to the value of the books, for the Christians were most of them in needy circumstances. We must leave it undecided whether the kernel of this story about the exorcists is historical or symbolical.

But in spite of all this uncertainty it is clear enough that the period we are considering was one of extreme importance in the spread of Christianity. Personally, in the course of his expeditions round about, or indirectly by means of the fellow-labourers he sent out to preach, Paul established flourishing communities in various cities of Asia,[1] such as Smyrna, Pergămus, Thyatīra, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicēa, Colossæ, and Hierapŏlis. These churches were distinguished by their faithful and patient perseverance under suffering, their love and good works, and, in some cases, their steadfast attachment to the Pauline gospel.[2] We cannot say whether Barnabas and Silas were still amongst Paul's fellow-labourers; but honourable mention is made not only of Titus and Timothy, but of many others, such as Sosthĕnes and Tychĭcus, Gaius and Aristarchus the Macedonians, Erastus the Corinthian, and in special connection with Ephesus, Onesiphŏrus, a faithful friend of the apostle; at Colossæ, Epăphras, Philemon, and Archippus; at Laodicēa, Nymphas. Epaphras, indeed, appears to have been the real evangelist of Colossæ, and to have rendered great services to the neighbouring communities of Laodicea and Hierapŏlis.[3] Perhaps we may extend this list considerably, for the sixteenth chapter of Romans, though it certainly does not belong to the epistle

[1] 1 Corinthians xvi. 19; Revelation i. 4, 11.
[2] Revelation ii. 3, 10, 13, 19, 14, 15, 20. [3] Colossians i. 7, iv. 12, 13.

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to which it is now appended, may really be from the hand of Paul, and some scholars have supposed that it is a letter to the believers at Ephesus in commendation of the deaconess Phœbe. In that case we must add to the apostle's Ephesian fellow-labourers the names of Epenĕtus, the firstfruits to Christ from Asia; of Andronīcus and Junius, relatives of Paul's and on one occasion his fellow-prisoners, who took an honourable position as messengers of Christ, and had joined the faithful before Paul himself. Further, Urbānus and Apelles; certain women such as Maria, who was of much service at Ephesus; Tryphēna, Tryphōsa, and, above all, Persis, all of them zealous labourers for the gospel. On the same supposition of authenticity, we may also add that Paul was warmly attached to a certain Rufus, possibly the son of Simon, of Cyrēne,[1] and still more to his mother, who had been like a mother to the apostle himself; and to these we must add Amplĭas and Stachys, Paul's own relative Herodĭon, and many others. In a word, there were numbers of believers, glowing with zeal for the good cause, who were ready to preach in their own cities, to carry the message elsewhere, and in some cases to travel from place to place in a more or less extended district. In the latter case, they would often have to suspend or relinquish their occupations; and for their benefit Paul established the rule, "Let him who is taught in the word impart to the teacher of all his goods,"[2] and laid it down in general as an ordinance of Christ that "those who preach the gospel should also live by the gospel"—a right, however, which he declined to exercise himself.[3]

Meanwhile, however fruitful were the labours of the apostle and his supporters, they had to struggle against manifold obstacles and many kinds of hindrance and persecution. Paul himself declared that Ephesus offered a wide

[1] See p. 119. [2] Galatians vi. 6. [3] 1 Corinthians ix. 4—18.

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and fruitful field for the extension of the gospel in the city and the district. "A great and mighty door is open to me," he cried; but he was forced to add at once, "there are many adversaries."[1] If only the believers would have all joined hand in hand! But alas! though we have no direct testimony, we may well surmise that even during these years Jewish-Christian emissaries had presented themselves in the capital as well as elsewhere in Asia, had set their feet across the path of Paul, and had drawn away many of his converts. If it is true, as we saw stated but now, that he found a small community of converted Jews on his first arrival, then the conflict was inevitable. But, independently of this, when we reflect that a systematic and embittered opposition on the part of the Jewish-Christians had been organised some years ago at Antioch, and was appearing in Galatia and at Corinth at this very time, we can hardly doubt that the same party spirit raised its head at Ephesus with equal boldness and determination, and that emissaries from Jerusalem arrived to withdraw the converted heathen from Paul's influence, to incorporate them into the people of the Lord if only as "proselytes of gate," to detach them from their gentile surroundings, and wean them from their gentile life. This would also account for the bitterness with which Paul denounces these orthodox agitators as "hypocrites" in the letters of this period; and, indeed, the dangers from "false brothers," of which he speaks as threatening his liberty or life, must obviously be understood as resulting from events that fall within this period. This is another indication of the violence of the contest. Finally, some ten years later a Jewish-Christian writer singles out Ephesus and Smyrna for special praise because they had long ago tried Paul and rejected him, and learned to hate his gospel and his followers.[2]

[1] 1 Corinthians xvi. 9. [2] Revelation ii. 2—6, 9.

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Divisions and discord rending the bosom of the community, calumny and bitter hostility pursuing him on his own ground! Alas, what sorrow for the apostle! And all this just when perfect unanimity was such a crying necessity! If thus at strife with one another, how were they to hold out against the hatred and attacks of the Jews,[1] who were especially numerous at Ephesus? How were they to resist the crushing force of heathen society, which threatened to bear down their whole work by sheer violence, and which had such varied and terrible power to seduce the weaker brethren to the foulness of heathen morals or the superstitiousness of heathen religion? We have already heard from Paul's own lips how he felt for and with those who were exposed to such temptation. "Who is weak without my being weak with him? Who stumbles without my burning?" and it must be to the constant exposure to violence that Paul chiefly alludes when he speaks of the "many adversaries." But nothing quenched his zeal or broke his elasticity. Everything increased them. There was an ample and promising field of labour open to him, and that was enough! In the spring of 58 A.D. he speaks of it as a well-known fact that the believers, or at least the preachers of the gospel, "are in peril every hour," and declares of himself that he "dies every day," and records, with some special circumstance in his mind apparently, that he "fought with wild beasts at Ephesus," that is to say, was engaged in a conflict with savage and bloodthirsty men in which his life trembled in the balance.[2] Was it then, or on some subsequent occasion, that Aquila and Prisca risked their lives to save him?—Dangers constantly increased, and at last they rose to such a height that a few weeks after he had left Ephesus he wrote of the great oppression which had lately come upon him in Asia, against which

[1] 2 Corinthians xi. 26; Acts xx. 19.
[2] 1 Corinthians xv. 30—32.

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his powers had no longer been able to endure, under which he had lost every ray of hope that his life would be preserved when "God rescued him out of so great a death."[1]

The book of Acts further records an event to which Paul makes no separate reference, but which is doubtless in the main historical, though the account is sometimes rather highly coloured. We must know, then, that Ephesus was specially devoted to the worship of the goddess Artĕmis (Diana), whose image, cut out of vine wood, was said to have fallen down from heaven, and was kept in a magnificent temple, which ranked as one of the seven wonders of the world. Now, little models of this temple, worked in silver, were greatly sought after, especially by strangers who came to pay their reverence to the goddess; and when Paul had been preaching two or three years in Ephesus and the neighbourhood a prominent silversmith of the name of Demetrius called together his numerous skilled workmen and labourers, and pointed out to them what damage Paul was doing to their trade and to the worship of their goddess by making such hosts of worshippers in Ephesus and almost all of Asia desert the gods. The combination of religious and selfish motives soon began to work. "Glory to the Ephesian Artĕmis!" cried the assembly, and a formidable tumult was at once on foot. The rioters, as a single man, made for the theatre where popular assemblies were usually held, and in which more than fifty thousand people could meet. They had seized two of Paul's companions, Gaius and Aristarchus of Macedonia, and Paul himself would have gone out amongst the people had he not been restrained by the disciples, and implored by some of the Asiarchs themselves who were friendly to him not to enter the theatre.—These Asiarchs were a college of ten distinguished citizens, appointed for a year to exercise a general superintendence over religious

[1] 2 Corinthians i. 8–10.

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affairs, and to provide popular games for the religious festivals at their own expense.—Boundless confusion reigned in the theatre. One raised one cry and another another, and most of them did not so much as know why they were there. A certain Alexander was pushed forward by the Jews, and was going to speak a word in defence, but no sooner was he seen to be a Jew than a thousand throats roared out "Great is Artĕmis of the Ephesians!" as if they would never stop!

After nearly two hours the town clerk succeeded in getting silence. He went on to pacify the mob with the greatest tact. The privileges of Ephesus, he said, as the city of Artĕmis and the guardian of her heavenly image, were known to all the world, and could not be disputed, so there was no need to make a tumult or do anything rash to assert them. As for these two Macedonians they had neither robbed the temples nor blasphemed the gods. If Demetrius and his friends had any complaints to urge against them, they could bring them before the magistrates when the courts were sitting; and, if any further steps were necessary, they must be submitted to an assembly of the people in due form. There was a proper way of doing everything, and these tumultuous and unreasonable proceedings might get them into trouble as rioters.—After this he dismissed the people, and before long the commotion had completely subsided.

Chapter IX.

THE COMMUNITY AT CORINTH AND THE LETTER TO ROME.

Acts XIX. 21, 22, XX. 1–6, XVIII. 24–28; 1 Corinthians; 2 Corinthians; Romans.

SHORTLY after the event we have just recorded, Paul called the Christians of Ephesus together to take leave of them. Independently of this riot he had already resolved

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to quit Ephesus and Asia for Macedonia and Achaia.[1] A variety of motives, some of them connected with far-reaching projects to which we shall presently return, had combined to dictate this resolution.

The community at Corinth was the object of the apostle's special concern, and he longed to be with the brethren there once more. If, as we have supposed, he had paid them a visit from Ephesus, some time before, it can only have been a short one; and, in consequence of the misconduct of some of the Christians and the severity with which he had been compelled to chastise them, it had left a painful impression behind it.[2] He had also sent a letter to Corinth; but it is now lost, and we only know that it contained the injunction to avoid intercourse with immoral persons. Paul meant immoral members of the community; but the Corinthians understood his expression generally, and this made the injunction absolutely impossible to comply with, and therefore foolish. He was thus compelled to return to the same point afterwards, and explain that the judgment of the heathens must be left with God; but that if a Christian became guilty of inchastity, drunkenness, idolatry, or extortion, he must be excluded from the tables of the brethren.[3] Immorality, sometimes of a very gross description, still disgraced the community, and was but too readily condoned; and Paul demanded that a certain notorious offender should be punished with extreme severity, by being solemnly given up to Satan, the god of the heathen world, by the curse of excommunication.[4] But there were other matters also in which this church gave Paul occasion for anxiety and sorrow.

There was much, however, in which he could heartily rejoice, and with this we will begin. The community had been greatly strengthened and extended, especially by the

[1] 1 Corinthians xvi. 5–9. [2] 2 Corinthians xiii. 1, 2, ii. 1, xii. 14, 21.
[3] 1 Corinthians v. 9–13. [4] 1 Corinthians v. 1 ff.

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preaching of a certain Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, well skilled in the symbolical interpretation of the Scripture, which flourished in that city. Arriving at Ephesus in Paul's absence, he had been won for the Pauline gospel by Aquila and Priscilla, had come over with letters of commendation to Achaia, and had laboured there with great success.—All this is told us in the book of Acts and is indirectly confirmed by Paul himself, for he speaks of Apollos as a fellow-worker of one mind with him, who had great influence at Corinth, and had watered what he himself had sown. We also read in Acts that Apollos taught Christianity, and preached about Jesus, before he had received the instructions of Aquila and Priscilla, although, like the twelve disciples of whom we heard just now,[1] he only knew the baptism of John; and further, that at Corinth he busied himself exclusively with the refutation of the Jews. All this may go for what it is worth.

The community at Corinth not only grew but was also marked by great wealth of spiritual gifts. It could boast of many preachers, many members distinguished by their keenness of spiritual vision, besides prophets, ordinary teachers, deacons and deaconesses who looked after the poor and sick, others who by prayer and the laying on of hands or by the application of special remedies healed the sick or did other deeds of power.—Parallels to these phenomena may be found elsewhere, in times and amidst circles where great spiritual excitement has prevailed. Above all, there were great numbers who spoke in tongues.[2] They all looked forward to the return of the Christ with a longing so intense that some of them, perceiving that their beloved relatives who had died unbaptised would be excluded from the blessings of the golden age, had themselves baptised for them in hopes of its being accepted on their behalf.[3]

[1] See pp. 303, 304. [2] 1 Corinthians i. 5, 7, xii. 4—11, 28.
[3] 1 Corinthians xv. 29.

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This practice, however superstitious, did no great harm; but the self-exaltation of which the brethren were guilty did great harm indeed! They were so wise in their own eyes that they cared for nothing and for nobody, and considered themselves qualified to pass sentence from above upon everyone, including Paul himself. The arrogance of some of them was simply unbounded.[1] Connected with all this was a spirit of sectarianism which woefully divided the community. A Jewish-Christian party had been formed here also. It appealed, and must have had some right or some reason in its appeal, to the authority of Cephas (Peter) the Apostle of the Jews; it called itself after him, and denied or detracted from the apostolic dignity of Paul.[2] The liberal party called themselves followers of Paul in distinction from the others. But here the matter did not rest. There were some of the liberals who had perhaps been converted by Apollos and felt warmly attached to him, or perhaps they had learned to look down upon Paul's simple teaching when they had come under the spell of the Alexandrian's brilliant gifts, his eloquent address, his speculative profundity, and his symbolical interpretation of the Scriptures. Be this as it may, they called themselves after Apollos. Again, there was a section of the orthodox party that raised another cry. They had probably come from Jerusalem,[3] provided with letters of commendation, and by way of throwing Paul (who had never been in any personal relations with the Christ) into the shade, and so excluding him and all his party, they hit upon the idea of calling themselves and their followers the adherents of Christ, on the ground that they had known the Christ themselves, or at any rate were in close relations with his genuine Apostles.[4]

[1] 1 Corinthians iii. 18, iv. 3, 7 ff., 18. [2] See p. 251.
[3] 2 Corinthians iii. 1, xi. 22.
[4] 1 Corinthians i. 12, ii. 4, iii. 4, 22; 2 Corinthians x. 7; compare p. 299.

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The Jewish-Christian party showed its usual animosity against the apostle of the heathens, as we may see from a single example. Paul's opponents managed to turn the very disinterestedness which formed so sharp a contrast with the conduct of the new Palestinian preachers into a weapon against him. They told the Corinthians that his settled principle of never receiving anything from them showed that he was himself conscious that he had no real claim to the name of Apostle, and had not been sent by the Christ.[1] There is every indication that in Corinth, even more than elsewhere, the conflict took a personal character, to which the principles at issue were more or less subordinated. But the two aspects of the dispute were always closely connected together. The Jewish-Christian teachers, however, do not seem to have pitched their claims so high in Corinth as they had done in Galatia. Apparently they did not insist upon circumcision, the observance of Jewish rest-days, feasts, and fasts, or other such matters. Indeed, it would seem that even in Galatia they had not demanded the strict observance of the whole Law;[2] and we can therefore well believe that here, in the land of culture, they shrank from the insuperable difficulties of introducing the national usages that rendered them ridiculous in Grecian eyes.[3] Finally the love of argument and disputation so characteristic of the Greeks contributed powerfully towards the undesirable state of things at Corinth by making the Christians look upon the gospel as a matter of doctrine rather than life, and eagerly seek out points upon which they could argue with each other.

Paul was further grieved by the want of love manifested in the fact that the Christians sometimes had law-suits with each other, rather than risk any loss or injustice; and even called each other before the heathen judges, instead of

[1] 1 Corinthians ix. 1 ff. [2] Galatians vi. 13, v. 3.
[3] 1 Corinthians vii. 18.

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at any rate choosing brethren to act as arbitrators in their quarrels.[1] And the same want of love was manifested at the brotherly meals of the faithful, consecrated to the united commemoration of the Lord; for the richer members had fallen into the evil habit of seizing with indecorous haste what they had brought themselves, instead of waiting till the food was served round and each could have his share; so that, while they were feasting themselves, sometimes to excess, others who had not been able to bring anything with them were obliged to look on in hunger, unless they happened to belong to their party, or to be amongst their friends. The apostle, regarding this as a slight to the community and an insult to the poor, held it an abuse of the institution of the common meal, and recognised the prevalence of sickness and death amongst the brethren as its punishment.[2]

Yet, again, the confusion that prevailed in the meetings of the community was a source of pain to the apostle. All strove to be first, and mutual service was regarded as humiliating. Women came forward at these meetings, which Paul regarded as very scandalous. They even led in prayer and prophecy with their heads unveiled. Sometimes everyone attempted to prophesy at the same time, and all vied with each other for attention. Finally, speaking with tongues was carried to such an excess that a heathen casually entering the assembly would suppose that they were raving.[3]

Paul had received some information on these points, especially about the sectarian jealousies, from the members of a certain Cloe's household. Subsequently he had received a letter from the Corinthian community, probably brought to him by Stephănas, Fortunātus, and Achaïcus, asking for

[1] 1 Corinthians vi. 1 ff.; compare Matthew v. 39—41.
[2] 1 Corinthians xi. 17 ff.
[3] 1 Corinthians xi. 2 ff., xii. 1 ff., xiv.

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instructions as to marriage and the unmarried state, the propriety of joining in sacrificial meals and eating the flesh of animals that had been sacrificed, the value of spiritual gifts, and other matters.[1] The bearers of this letter gave him full information of the state of things at Corinth, and though he intended soon to go there himself and put the arrogant pretenders who had spoken so contemptuously of him to the test, he determined first to send Timothy, his beloved and trusted son in the Lord, to remind the Corinthians how he ordered his life, as the messenger of Christ, and how he preached everywhere and in all the churches. Meanwhile he gave a second letter (1 Corinthians) to the three Corinthian delegates, who were now about to return and would arrive at Corinth before Timothy, who was travelling through Macedonia. In this letter he begged the community to receive Timothy, as a worthy preacher of the gospel, with friendship and respect, that he might not be too diffident, and then to escort him on his way back. Apollos was with Paul at Ephesus at this time, and not at Corinth, and Paul had entreated him, perhaps at the instance of the Corinthians, to accompany Stephănas and the other two to Corinth, and help, amongst other things, to check the party feeling. But Apollos had steadily declined, saying he could not go till it fell in with his plans to do so.[2]

The letter was written in Paul's own name and in that of Sosthenes, to whom, perhaps, he dictated it. This Sosthenes was one of the brethren held in high estimation at Corinth, and happened to be with Paul at the time. After a friendly introduction, the letter begins with a rebuke of sectarianism. As long as one says "I am of Paul," another "I of Apollos," a third "I of Cephas," a fourth "I of Christ," they all show that they are far from the spirituality of the

[1] 1 Corinthians i. 11, vii. 1 ff., viii. 1 ff., xii. 1 ff., xv. 1 ff., xvi. 17.
[2] 1 Corinthians iv. 17, xvi. 10—12.

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gospel, and forget that all the preachers are but servants of God, no more.—Presently he begins to answer their specific questions: It is good to marry, but considering how near the world is to its end it is better still not to marry; but in this matter everyone must be guided by his knowledge of himself, must act circumspectly, and must remember what is due to others. The use of meat from beasts that have been sacrificed to idols is a matter of indifference to those who really understand the matter and have risen above all prejudice; but for fear of inducing the brother of more contracted views, who looks upon it as a sin, to follow such an example and so violate his own conscience, it is better to abstain from sitting at meat in an idol's temple. Had not he, Paul, given a life-long example of disinterested self-sacrifice? And, indeed, he must distinctly forbid their joining in sacrificial meals, for it was a sort of intercourse with demons; but meat purchased in the market might be eaten with a clear conscience, whether sacrificed to idols or not, provided always that it gave no offence. Then Paul goes on to treat at length of spiritual gifts, especially speaking with tongues, and lays it down that no more than two, or at most three, should make themselves heard at one meeting; and that only in succession, and when there was someone present who could interpret the rapturous utterances. He meets the doubts entertained as to the resurrection chiefly by an appeal to the resurrection of Christ, and he speaks of the glorified body of the future. He repeatedly rebukes immorality, arrogance, want of love, disorderly conduct, and an unseemly celebration of the Lord's supper. Then he concludes by pressing the collection for the believers at Jerusalem upon the attention of the brethren, by telling them of his future plans, and by giving them his greeting.

We will only transcribe the well-known verses in which the apostle celebrates the glory of love, as opposed to the

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idle self-exaltation of the Corinthians, with their pride in their several spiritual gifts and their unchristian conduct.[1]

"Earnestly seek the best gifts. But let me show you the way of ways:

"I may speak in tongues as exalted as man can utter, nay in the tongues of the angels themselves, but if I have not love I am a piece of sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. I may be such a prophet that I understand all the truths of faith hitherto unknown and penetrate to all knowledge of God. I may have the full measure of faith so that I can move mountains; but if I have not love I am nothing. I may bestow all my goods on the poor, I may give my very body to be burned, but if I have not love it all avails me nothing!

"Love is long-suffering and kind; love envies not, parades not itself, and is not puffed up; is not unseemly or grasping, or easily provoked; love imputes evil to no one, takes no pleasure in unrighteousness, but rejoices with the truth in all things true and noble; covers all evil, believes all good, hopes against hope, and bears everything.

"Love never fails. Prophecies shall come to an end, speaking in tongues shall cease, knowledge shall vanish away; for our knowledge is incomplete, our prophesying is imperfect, and when the perfect state has come then these imperfect things must be banished. When I was a child I spoke as a child, I thought as a child, I judged as a child; but now that I have become a man I have put childish things away. For now we see the things above as we see the reflection of the heavens in the water, all confused; but in the kingdom of God we shall see them right before us. Now I only know in part; but then I shall know as perfectly as I am known by God.

[1] 1 Corinthians xii. 31—xiv. 1*a*.

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"And so these three, faith, hope, and love, endure for ever; and the greatest of them is love.

"Follow after love!"

This letter was dispatched before Easter in the year 58 A.D.[1] It was then the apostle's intention to remain a few months longer at Ephesus, to seize the abundant and favourable opportunities of preaching the gospel there and to repel the manifold opposition. After Pentecost he intended to go through Macedonia to Corinth to spend some time, perhaps to winter, there.[2]

He was now eagerly employed, amongst other things, in giving effect to his promise to make a collection for the community of Jerusalem amongst the converts of his own churches.[3] He had already made one such collection, soon after the convention at Jerusalem most likely. But this time, after the lapse of years, he was exceedingly anxious to collect as large a sum as possible; for if he could make up a handsome amount he would not send it (as he intended to do should it prove inconsiderable) by representatives of the various congregations, accompanied by a letter of introduction, but he would go with them himself in the hope that he might then be well received in the City of the Temple, and might succeed in putting an end to the baneful opposition which was directed thence against his preaching.[4] It was excessively difficult for him permanently to maintain his position against the emissaries from Jerusalem, and to prevent his converts from falling away from him. The liberality of his heathen converts, then, must bridge over the chasm between himself and the primitive community, and reconcile the latter to his work.[5] Accordingly he had charged the

[1] See 1 Corinthians v. 7, 8. [2] 1 Corinthians xvi. 5—9.
[3] See pp. 252, 253. [4] 1 Corinthians xvi. 3, 4.
[5] 2 Corinthians ix. 12 ff.

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Galatian Christians to set aside something from Sunday to Sunday, according to their several ability; and now he made the same request of the Corinthians, so that the collection might already be on foot when he arrived and might yield as much as possible.[1]

Perhaps he had already spoken of this matter in his former letter to Corinth, and had afterwards sent Timothy and Erastus from Ephesus to Macedonia and Achaia on the same errand. At any rate he impressed the urgency of the matter upon Titus, whom he dispatched to Corinth some time after writing his second letter (1 Corinthians), but while still at Ephesus. It appears that Titus was the bearer of a third letter, now lost, caused by further reports from the city which had given Paul the greatest pain and had hurt him personally. Accordingly he wrote a passionate letter, with many tears, in which he spoke with extreme severity of the person principally concerned, and earnestly exhorted the community. At the same time he gave notice of a change in his plans. It was now his intention to sail to Corinth direct, to pay a visit thence to Macedonia, and on his return take ship from Corinth to Jerusalem.[2]

But he changed this plan also. Soon after he had sent off the third letter, the great danger of which we have already spoken came upon him at Ephesus. He barely escaped with his life, and settled for a time at Troas, where he hoped to meet Titus on his return from Corinth. But although Troas offered a splendid field for his labours in preaching the gospel, and though his efforts were actually crowned with great success, yet his growing anxiety as to the effect of his last letter to Corinth left him no peace. He repented of having adopted so severe a tone; he longed with all his heart to hear from Titus

[1] 1 Corinthians xvi. 1, 2.
[2] 2 Corinthians ii. 2 ff., vii. 8 ff., i. 15, 16.

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what effect it had produced; and at last he took leave of the brethren at Troas and crossed over to Macedonia, hoping to meet his friend there. But here he was even more ill at ease than he had been at Troas. He had to contend against every kind of opposition, and meanwhile his anxiety about Corinth rose still higher, till at last Titus joined him.

His arrival was a great relief and comfort, not so much because of the pleasure of his society as because of the favourable report he had to make.[1] He had been better received than might have been expected. The letter had made a deep impression. The Corinthians, though much pained, had at least been shaken out of their slothful indifference. Their indignation with the offender or traducer, and their enthusiasm for the apostle had been roused. They had taken vigorous steps in the matter, and were now longing for the arrival of Paul himself, with whose sufferings they heartily sympathised. At any rate a great many of the brethren showed a spirit of respectful obedience. On the other hand his delay in visiting the city had made his Jewish-Christian opponents more outrageous than ever in their violent or scoffing attacks upon his person and character. Moreover, many faults still disfigured the community. For these and other reasons Paul was impelled in the late autumn or early winter of 58 A.D. to write a fourth letter (2 Corinthians) to Corinth before going there in person. This was perhaps at Philippi. He wrote the letter in his own name and that of Timothy, who must therefore have joined him again by this time, though we hear nothing of his reception and experiences at Corinth, and do not even know whether he had really fulfilled his mission or been in Achaia at all.

This epistle is full of references to the manifold sufferings inseparable from the apostle's work, and of expressions of the warmest affection for the Corinthians. Paul expresses

[1] 2 Corinthians ii. 12, 13, vii. 2–16.

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his satisfaction at the result of his last letter, defends himself against the charge of vacillation in his plans, since his reason for delaying his visit had been his unwillingness to come to them with a severe rebuke in his mouth, and exhorts them to receive the guilty brother once more into their affections since he was now sufficiently punished and tortured by repentance. He exalts the dignity of the apostolic ministry, as that of the spirit that makes alive, above the ministry of the Old Covenant, as that of the letter that kills; and describes how he pursues that ministry with purity and faithfulness, in the joyful perseverance of faith and in the hope of a glorious future, in spite of the terrible strain it puts upon his powers.

Then he speaks of the collection for the Palestinian believers. The Macedonian Christians, poor as they were, had given zealously, even beyond their means; and now he had begged Titus to bring this work of love to a satisfactory conclusion at Corinth, where he had busied himself in the matter on his former visit, and where it had been in hand for a year already. For that purpose he would send him thither as the bearer of the letter, together with two other brethren, whose names are not given, one of whom represented the community, while the other was a trusted assistant of the apostle's. Paul endeavours to commend the cause to the Corinthians in many ways, especially by making them feel it inconsistent with their own self-respect to be behind the others. All this he does with great tact, but also with great urgency.

The four last chapters are devoted to a sometimes passionate self-defence. There were abundant and pressing reasons for this; and there seems to have also been a very special occasion for it in the shape of a project of inviting some man of authority, perhaps one of the Twelve or one of the brothers of the Lord, to come over to Corinth.[1] A certain

[1] 2 Corinthians xi. 4.

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violence of style pervades these chapters. In the former part of the epistle Paul had already defended himself from the charge of vacillation and the suspicion of base cupidity in connection with the collection of the gifts of love; he had fallen upon his opponents, who had come with letters of commendation from Jerusalem and had asked for similar letters from the Corinthians to other churches, and had denounced them as falsifiers of God's word. He now repeats all this and defends his character and his apostolic dignity against his opponents, not without violent threats. In proof that his apostleship is in no way inferior, but rather superior to that of the vaunted Twelve and their leaders, he appeals to all that he had done and suffered in the cause of the gospel, and to the revelations of the glorified Christ, with which he had been favoured above all others. From the Corinthian community especially, since he himself had founded it, he demands the recognition and support of his high apostolic rank and his absolute disinterestedness, in the face of the allegations of his adversaries. He warns the brethren against these "servants of Satan," and against all who came to give them another Jesus, another Spirit, or another Gospel than he had preached and communicated to them himself. Finally, he exhorts them not to make it necessary for him to deal severely with them when he comes in person.

What the effect of this letter was we are not told. We suspect that it was satisfactory, for the treatise which Paul soon afterwards composed in Corinth breathes a spirit of peace. The apostle was not long in following his letter from Macedonia to Greece. According to Acts he only spent three months in the latter country, and then set out for Jerusalem. All we know of his stay at Corinth is that it brought his plans for the future to maturity. First of all he would go to the

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brethren at Jerusalem to make peace with them. This journey must often have filled him with uneasy apprehension, but he was encouraged to hope for the best by the brilliant proofs of the brotherly love of the heathen Christians which could not fail to be acceptable to the believers at Jerusalem; by confidence in his own personal influence backed by the truth;[1] and above all by his unshaken hope in the support of his Lord. After pleading his cause at Jerusalem, and securing his churches against the turbulent agitators who would soon lose all their influence if once renounced by the Apostles, he intended to carry out a project he had long cherished with passionate earnestness, and make his way to Rome. According to another account, of doubtful authenticity,[2] his plans included a yet wider scheme, and he meant to go on from Rome to Spain. But let us confine ourselves to what is certain.[3] He was determined to visit Rome, and we may easily see why. His restless nature never ceased to urge him on into new and ever wider fields of labour. He had now traversed sea and land without cessation for full twenty years; his life was advancing; and his work still seemed to miss its crown, as long as he had not visited Rome and preached the gospel there. He had always picked out great capitals, and now the capital of the world had an irresistible fascination for him. What a glorious thought to preach the kingdom of God and attack Satan, the god of the heathen world, at the very centre of the power of heathenism! Moreover if Antioch, Ephesus, and Corinth were the scenes of busy intercourse amongst the different nations, whence the news of the gospel must spread far and wide, Rome was the very heart of the ancient world. The seed there scattered and matured would be borne on the breath of the winds to all the quarters of heaven, and would bear rich fruits in every land. A triumph gained at Rome would open up immeasurable prospects:

[1] 2 Corinthians xiii. 8. [2] Romans xv. 24, 28. [3] Romans i. 10—15.

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Then was the gospel of the Crucified as yet unknown at Rome? That was impossible. There was no movement of any interest or extent in any portion of the great empire which was not sooner or later reflected in the capital. Without any special founder a band of believers had been formed at Rome by the mere arrival of travelling traders or the settlement of strangers. It was probably connected with the synagogue, and had already gained a certain celebrity. But this was not enough for Paul. *His* gospel must be established there. He would go and preach in Rome himself; for the full truth, as it was in Christ, must be proclaimed there.

But the previous existence of a congregation, though on one side fortunate, inasmuch as it would give his work a point of attachment and support, was on the other side a source of great embarrassment. When he arrived what reception must he expect? Some of the believers were Jews, and though others were converted heathens,[1] even they had no clear insight into the significance of the cross, no accurate knowledge of the way of salvation, of justification by grace through faith.[2] Paul knew or had reason to suspect that he would meet with opponents there who had already blackened his character, and allies who misunderstood or misapplied his principles. So he felt the necessity of paving the way for his personal visit by making the Christians acquainted with his gospel, and so winning their hearts for the truth in advance, or at any rate securing a more favourable disposition towards his gospel and removing prejudices. To this we owe the epistle to the Romans, Paul's masterpiece, the first attempt—and a supremely important one—to draw up a system of Christian doctrine. It is no controversial appeal like the epistle to the Galatians; no personal defence like the two remaining epistles to the Corinthians; but a calm exposition of a doctrinal system, with its

[1] Romans i. 5, 6, 13—15, xi. 13 ff. [2] Romans vi. 17.

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commendation to the calm consideration of others. The circumstances naturally dictated a conciliatory tone, and prominence is given to constructive rather than destructive elements, which puts this epistle into contrast more especially with that to the Galatians.

After greeting the brethren, Paul at once announces his intention of visiting Rome to preach amongst the heathens there also; for he felt the duty laid upon him of bringing both Greek and barbarian, both the cultured and the ignorant, to the Christ. "For in spite of contempt and persecution it is my pride to preach the gospel, since I know it to be the power of God for the preservation of all who have faith, whether Jew or Greek. It reveals to the heart of man the perfect relationship to God, springing from faith and leading to faith, according to the saying of Scripture: The righteous shall live by faith."[1]

Then he shows that the heathen world had been given up to the deepest moral corruption as a punishment for its idolatry; but that the Jews also, subject to God's judgment and condemned by their own Law, are just as far from the righteousness that avails with God: "All mankind is guilty in His eyes. Observance of the Law cannot possibly make any man just in His sight; for the Law does but serve to bring sin into light."

"But now"—and here we have the brief epitome of Paul's gospel in his own words—"But now the true justification, sanctioned by the Scripture, is made accessible without the instrumentality of law. It is the justification of all who have faith in Christ by means of that faith. For there is no difference between Jew and heathen. All alike have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God, *but are justified without price by his grace*, by the redemption we have found in Jesus Christ. When he poured out his blood, God offered him to the

[1] Romans i. 16, 17; compare Habakkuk ii. 4.

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believer as an atoning sacrifice for his sins. Hence it appears that God's long-suffering has not really infringed upon his justice when in times gone by he has let sins go unpunished, with this atoning sacrifice in view. And by the same means the true justification has been brought to light; for by the cross God's justice is established, and God holds all who have faith in Jesus to be justified.

"Then what ground is left for any self-exaltation on the part of the Jew? None whatever. What is it that has brought all this about? Is it the religion of legal observance? No; it is the religion of faith. We believe, then, that faith without legal observance brings man into the true relationship with God. Or is He the God of the Jews only, and not of the heathens? By no means. The same God will save Israel by faith and the uncircumcised through faith."

But was not this in contradiction with the Scripture? Quite the contrary; for at the very threshold of Israel's history, Abraham, the father of the faithful, was justified by faith even before his circumcision. And if this justification gives us peace with God and the hope of life, then two great facts stand over against each other as the main factors of the world's history: First, sin and death to all through Adam, the carnal man; second, grace and salvation to all through Jesus Christ, the heavenly man. The believer, made one with the Christ, and thereby released from the slavery of sin, henceforth leads a holy life in obedience to God. For has not the death of Christ completely released him from the Law, which brings the power of sin to light? Released from all bondage, awakened to a life after the spirit, transformed into a son or daughter of God, blessed in hope, courageous in suffering, certain of his future glory, the believer rejoices in the presence of God's love which nothing can disturb.

But alas! the people of the covenant and the promises for

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the most part rejected the Christ. Such was the decree of God's omnipotence—let man say what he might to it!—and it was only in appearance contradictory to the promises themselves. Israel refused to tread the path of faith. But *the obstinacy of Israel was itself the means of the salvation of the heathen world*, and thus it appeared that the apostle of the gentiles was himself toiling, indirectly indeed but none the less zealously, for the salvation of his own countrymen; for when once the salvation of the heathen was accomplished, then the object of the temporary exclusion of the Jews would be gained, the rejection would be repealed, and all Israel would be gathered into the kingdom of Christ. Oh the adorable wisdom of God's government!

Then follow exhortations to a life consecrated to God, to a good use of the gifts entrusted to each, to love, zeal, perseverance, sympathy, forgivingness, and especially to submission to the heathen magistracy, as appointed by God, and as His handmaid, together with active love towards men, and a pure life in expectation of Christ's return that was drawing near.

Finally, there were some of the members of the Roman community who thought they might eat anything, including meat from sacrificial beasts, and need take no heed of sabbath, fast, or feast; and there were others so strict that they would not eat any meat at all, but only vegetables, and observed the Jewish fasts and feasts with extreme scrupulosity. Now while Paul does not for a moment conceal his agreement with the former, he pleads for the broadest toleration on both sides, and especially urges those who share his own views to treat the others who are "weak in the faith," with the utmost possible consideration, not to parade their enlightenment, not to behave in a manner that will seem offensive to those who differ from them, and above all never to tempt others to violate their own consciences.

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With this, or with a concluding word of praise,[1] many manuscripts make the epistle to the Romans end. It would seem that not only the last chapter, which is at any rate out of place in this epistle,[2] but the last but one also is of doubtful origin. This chapter (xv.) contains a fresh exhortation to tolerance and unanimity, a scriptural justification of the conversion of the heathens, an address from the apostle of the gentiles to the believers in Rome, and an announcement of his intention of going to Jerusalem with the money he had collected, and then travelling to Spain through Rome.

It was probably in the beginning of the year 59 A.D. that some opportunity was found of sending the letter to Rome. Shortly afterwards Paul left Corinth. According to Acts it was his intention to go to Palestine by sea; but, having heard of a plot of the Jews (apparently to surprise and kill him on his way to the port) he changed his plans and made his way by land through Macedonia. When he reached Philippi he crossed over to Troas. The passage (owing to contrary winds or the damaged condition of the vessel) occupied five days, and took place just after the Jewish Passover, according to the trustworthy statements of the anonymous companion of Paul's voyages, whose narrative is again woven into the Acts at this point. Henceforth we shall call him Titus (?) for convenience, but without at all intending to prejudge the question of his identity. From the date he gives in this passage we may infer with great probability that it was now ten months since Paul had left Ephesus.[3]

Titus (?) was not the apostle's only companion on this occasion. He was surrounded by seven other friends from

[1] Romans xvi. 25—27 (to follow immediately after xiv. 23).
[2] See pp. 305, 306. [3] See p. 319, and 1 Corinthians xvi. 8.

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various districts—Sopăter, the son of Pyrrhus, from Berēa; Aristarchus and Secundus, from Thessalonīca; Gaius, from Derbe; Tychĭcus and Trophĭmus, from Asia (Ephesus?); and finally Timothy.[1] It can hardly be doubted that these men were deputed by the various churches of Asia Minor and Europe to accompany Paul to Jerusalem with the money that they had raised. We have already heard of this project from Paul himself. The only puzzle is why no one from Corinth is mentioned, but perhaps the Corinthians had not been able to fix upon one of their number who was able to make the journey, and were therefore represented by one of the other deputies or not at all. All we know is that the seven friends went on in advance and awaited Paul and Titus (?) at Troas.

This was the last occasion upon which Paul visited his communities, the last farewell he took of them, though he did not know that they were never to see him more. Not only was he never again to visit these regions which he had so often crossed and recrossed in every direction, but his apostolic labours were themselves drawing to a close. In a certain sense his task had been accomplished. The contest he had waged for so many years with varying fortunes against the Jewish-Christianity which had penetrated into the fields of his labour had spurred him to ever greater efforts, had compelled him to seize every weapon that lay within his reach, had forced him to penetrate yet further into the heart of his own gospel, and to work out and round off his own opinions more completely; and thereby it had indirectly contributed towards confirming and extending his apostolic influence upon his own and coming ages. This remark has special reference to his writings, those four marvellous epistles that have been preserved for us, and were largely called forth by the divisions in the bosom of Apostolic Christianity.

[1] Acts xx. 4, where "into Asia" is not authentic.

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His work survived. He had toiled and striven and endured more than tongue can utter, but the results of his unwearied efforts and unreserved devotion were proportionately rich and grand. It is true that the consummation he expected, the glorious establishment of the kingdom of God by the return of the Christ from heaven, never came. But it was through him personally and to the form in which he preached his gospel that the great spiritual power destined slowly but surely to regenerate mankind became the property of the whole civilised world. While he, together with all the believers of his generation, still looked in vain for the glorious renewal of heaven and earth, he had himself laid the foundations of the colossal edifice of the Christian Church.

Chapter X.

PAUL AT JERUSALEM.

Acts XX. 7—XXIII., VIII. 9—25.

THE apostle and his companions reached Jerusalem without hindrance. But whether the means of travelling at their command necessitated occasional delays of a few days' duration, or whether they had a little vessel of their own during the first part of the voyage and paused from time to time by choice, in any case they made no great haste on their way.

To begin with, they spent a week at Troas, where the following event occurred. On the Sunday evening before the Monday morning on which they were to depart, a final meeting of the congregation, closed by a brotherly meal, was held in a well-lighted upper room. Paul had much to say, and midnight had already come, when both he and his hearers were horrified to see a young man called Eutychus, who was

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sitting on the window-seat and had gone to sleep, fall down outside from the third story. As he made no sound or motion, they gave him up at once for dead and raised great lamentations. But Paul, who had hurried down with the rest, threw himself upon him, embraced him, and said: "Lament not thus for him! He is still alive!" Then they went into the upper room again, joined in the brotherly meal, and conversed till dawn, when the apostle went his way. Meanwhile Eutychus had been brought in alive, to the great joy of everyone.—This circumstance is recorded by Titus (?) and may therefore be accepted without hesitation; but the writer of Acts appears to have made a slight alteration in the narrative, so as to give Paul the glory of restoring the dead to life, which he has already ascribed to Peter.[1]

Paul had decided to go to Assus, twenty miles south of Troas, by land, and there to join his fellow travellers, who were to go before by ship. This was done, and from Assus they crossed to Mitylēne, the capital of Lesbos, lying on the east coast of the island. There they spent the night. Next day they sailed past Chios and the day after they steered for Samos, anchored one night off Cape Trogyllĭum, and on the next day reached Milētus.

At this point the author of Acts interrupts the narrative of Titus (?) to insert from some less trustworthy authority a moving account of a last farewell which Paul is supposed to have taken at Miletus of the elders of the church of Ephesus.[2] We are told that he was extremely anxious to be at Jerusalem for Pentecost, and that in order to lose no time in Asia he sent to Ephesus from Miletus and invited the elders to come and see him there, instead of going to the city himself. This is an extraordinary statement, for the week's abode at Troas and again at Tyre, and the delay of many

[1] See pp. 262, 267.

[2] Acts xx. 16–38; compare p. 268.

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days at Cæsarea, within two days' journey of Jerusalem, preclude the idea of haste. And the apostle certainly did not arrive till the feast was over. Besides, if he had really been pressed for time it would have been far better to take leave of the Ephesians at the neighbouring Trogyllium than at Miletus, which was a long day's journey from Ephesus, so that the communications would have caused an additional delay of at least two days. Finally, we know that Paul had altogether given up celebrating Jewish feasts.—But to go on with the story: When the representatives of the chief church of Asia had joined him, Paul gave them a retrospect of his apostolic labours at Ephesus. He reminded them of his style of life amongst them during three successive years, of his zeal and fidelity, his patient perseverance, the truth and completeness of his preaching. And now he was journeying to Jerusalem, in obedience to an impulse from above, warned by the prophets, from city to city as he went, of the dangers that awaited him there, but prepared to sacrifice everything, down to his very life, in accomplishing his task. And since he knew that he should never more see the Ephesians or any of the congregations he had founded, he now declared in their presence that his own conscience was clear, and conjured the overseers, as set by the Holy Spirit in the post of responsibility, to guard the Church of the Lord against heretical teachers, who should burst in like savage wolves from outside, or should rise up in their own midst. Finally, he commended them to God, and exhorted them to follow his own example of complete disinterestedness (in supporting himself while preaching), according to the word of Jesus: "It is more blessed to give than to receive."—After this they all knelt down and Paul prayed with them. Deeply grieved by his assurance that they would see his face no more, they escorted him to the ship and bade farewell.

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There can be no real doubt that this profoundly touching and beautiful address was composed at a later date in defence or in honour of Paul and not really delivered by him.[1] He himself by no means looked for certain captivity and death when on his way to Jerusalem, but on the contrary was full of vast projects for the future.[2] He knew that he was exposing himself to serious danger, but to that he had long been accustomed. The prediction here put into his mouth is framed in accordance with the result, but in contradiction to his own anticipations[3] at the time. We must pass the same judgment on the warning against future heretics. Of course Paul himself never thought of such teachers, and would have warned the Ephesians against the orthodox fanatics if against anyone. Moreover we know that the three years of his abode in Asia had not been by any means spent continuously at Ephesus; nor did he ever recommend others to follow his own personal rule of earning their bread by manual labour when preaching the gospel.[4] Finally, not to enter upon further details, the high estimate of the office of overseers or bishops indicates the post-Apostolic age.

We now return to the narrative of Titus (?). Quitting Miletus, the party made straight for the island of Cos, sailed or rowed thence to Rhodes, and on the third day reached the Lycian harbour of Patăra. Here they found a merchantman just ready to sail for Phœnicia, and took their passage in her. The vessel soon put out to sea, towards Cyprus, which she passed on the left, and after a voyage of a short week reached Tyre, where she was to unload. Here the travellers sought the brethren with whom they spent seven days, and who—after vainly attemping, in obedience to an inspired impulse, to dissuade Paul from going to Jerusalem, adds the

[1] See pp. 240, 268, 277, 278. [2] See pp. 323, 324.
[3] Compare Philippians ii. 24; Philemon *v.* 22.
[4] See Galatians vi. 6; 1 Corinthians ix. 6–15.

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author of Acts—escorted them out of the city with the women and children, prayed with them, and took leave of them on the strand; for our travellers avoided the route by land, which would have brought them into contact with the orthodox communities, and sailed from Tyre to Ptolemaïs, where they visited the brethren and spent one day with them. On the morrow they crossed Mount Carmel and passed through the flowery plain of Sharon to Cæsarea. Here they took up their abode with Philip, the Evangelist, one of the Seven,[1] who had four unmarried daughters, all of them prophetesses or inspired speakers. Here they spent several days.

At Cæsarea, we read, Paul received a final warning. The Judæan prophet Agăbus came to him, took his girdle, bound his own hands and feet with it, and foretold in the name of the Holy Spirit that the owner of that girdle would be bound by the Jews in like manner and delivered to the Romans. Then his travelling companions and the Christians of Cæsarea implored Paul to desist from his project; but he bade them cease, and declared that he was ready to brave not only imprisonment but death itself at Jerusalem for his faith. Upon this they acquiesced in the Lord's will.—We suspect that this scene formed no part of the original diary of Titus (?), but was subsequently inserted; for it is in perfect harmony with the other unhistorical interpolations, and is in itself exceedingly improbable. Besides, we know that this idea of Paul's feeling impelled from above to visit Jerusalem at every risk is nothing whatever but an invention by the author of Acts or his authority, who is determined to surround the brows of his hero with a crown of glory; whereas the apostle himself was not at all conscious of any such irresistible impulse, and knew the value of his own life as well as ever.[2] In conclusion we may observe that a former appearance of

[1] See pp. 206 ff.

[2] See 1 Corinthians xvi. 4; and pp. 320, 324.

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Agăbus is equally open to suspicion,[1] that the careful enumeration of the days that characterises the itinerary throughout disappears in this passage, and that other indications likewise point it out as an interpolation. We have therefore no right to assume that Paul approached Jerusalem as a voluntary martyr to the Jews, rather than an ambassador of peace to the Jewish-Christians.

After spending a good many days in Cæsarea, then, the apostle and his eight companions prepared to continue the journey. It was now a few weeks after Pentecost. Some of the Cæsarean brothers accompanied them, and when they reached Jerusalem brought them to a certain Mnason, a Cyprian convert of long standing, who offered them hospitality. They were doubtless deterred by the want of a hearty mutual understanding from taking up their abode with any of the Apostles or brothers of Jesus; and if Paul had near relations in the city, as we shall presently see he had, it was perhaps a seasonable precaution to avoid going to the place where he would first be looked for. Be this as it may, their reception at Mnason's house was hearty, but quiet. The community probably did not know of their arrival, for they had intentionally avoided announcing it, and it was certainly advisable to keep it carefully secret from the Jews.[2] To James, on the other hand, they announced their arrival at once; so that on the very next morning, when they presented themselves to hand over the gifts of love, they found all the elders or representatives of the community assembled to receive them.

What reception did the apostle of the gentiles and the gentile deputies themselves meet with at the hands of this assembly, and what was the course that events took in consequence? Alas! the trustworthy account of Titus (?) is

[1] See p. 233. [2] Acts xxi. 22.

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lost; for the author of Acts, who had certainly reason enough for suppressing it, substituted for it the following story, of suspicious origin and more than doubtful credibility:

After a friendly greeting Paul began, and gave a full account of all that God had done amongst the heathens by his instrumentality. The others listened with sympathetic interest, and glorified God, but did not conceal the fact that the very numerous communities of believing Jews, who were all zealous for the Law, cherished a strong though mistaken prejudice against Paul, which might well prove dangerous to him. Slanderous reports had been spread to the effect that he made the Jews in the dispersion apostates, by teaching them that circumcision and the other duties prescribed by the Jewish religion were no longer binding. He had better avail himself of the present opportunity of clearing himself from such imputations by a public act of adhesion to the Law and tradition; for his presence in Jerusalem would soon be generally known. Now it happened that there were four brethren who had taken the Nazirite vow, and were too poor to make the sacrifices prescribed for its close. It was, therefore, impossible for them to be released from it without help.[1] What if Paul were to make common cause with them, were to take the vow himself for the last few days, and were finally to bear the whole cost of the sacrifices? Such a good deed would be the palpable proof that all these reports were simply slanders, and that his scrupulosity left nothing to be desired. Finally, they reminded him that with regard to heathen converts the old agreement still held good, and nothing was required of them but abstinence from the four abominations.[2] Paul unhesitatingly acceded. He joined the four needy Nazirites, accepted all the obligations of the vow, went with them the following day to the Temple and informed the priest that the days of separation and abstinence would soon be at an

[1] Compare Vol. IV., p. 233. [2] See p. 278.

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end, when the offerings prescribed in the Law would be duly made, namely a lamb, a ewe, a ram, a basket of unleavened bread and cakes, together with a meat and drink offering, for each man.

This story is certainly untrue. It is more than improbable that Paul would have submitted to a Nazirite's vow, with all its frivolous prescriptions; it is utterly impossible that he would have consented to so hypocritical an artifice as to take public part in the ceremony for the express purpose of making everyone believe that he was a strict observer of the Law, and therefore could not preach its abolition.[1] Nor could James and the elders have addressed him in any such strain or made any such proposal as this, for they well knew what his preaching was. And, finally, the resolution and the letter here referred to are themselves spurious.[2] The only touch of history in this story is the indication which escapes the writer in spite of himself of the existence of three distinct parties. There was the small circle of friends, converted heathens or Greek-speaking Jewish believers, by whom Paul and his companions were warmly and hospitably received. There were James and the representatives of the community, whom the travellers visited the day after their arrival in order to enter into negotiations with them. Finally, there were the numerous Nazarenes, all of them zealous for the Law, who were not yet aware that Paul had arrived, but who would soon know it, and who hated him as an apostate that had led others astray. We may also readily believe that this last party were even more indignant with Paul for declaring that the Law was no longer binding on the Jewish believers than for admitting the gentiles into the Messianic kingdom. In all the other details we have no difficulty in recognising the usual style and method of the author of Acts. He is so anxious to restore peace to the

[1] See Galatians ii. 16; Romans vii. 1 ff., x. 4. [2] See p. 261.

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Church and reconcile the orthodox to the memory of the apostle of the gentiles that he utterly obscures his teaching. Nay, he makes him—the writer of the epistles to the Galatians and Romans!—a strict Jewish-Christian, who circumcises Timothy, takes more than one vow, makes repeated journeys to the City of the Temple in order to celebrate Jewish feasts, offers sacrifices, and presently gives himself out as a Pharisee and claims the Pharisees' protection![1]

We may be very sure that the account of Titus (?) gave a widely different version of Paul's reception by the heads of the community! The very fact that the author of Acts drops the narrative here and substitutes his own fictitious conceptions, which disguise the whole course of the history, gives us reason to suspect the worst. We must also observe that our author tries to bury the whole cause of Paul's journey, namely, the collection, in silent oblivion; and yet he knew about it, for he mentions it once incidentally,[2] though he makes it a proof of Paul's national zeal instead of a peace offering from the gentiles to the Jewish-Christians, as it really was. When he speaks of the collection more expressly, he is careful to put it many years earlier, before any collision had taken place.[3] Here he represents the gentile Christian deputies as simple travelling companions of Paul's, and makes the apostle himself come up to Jerusalem with no other purpose than to offer sacrifices and celebrate the feast of Pentecost. Now for all this he had a remarkably good reason, for we still possess a story which showed very clearly in its original form that Paul's expectation was completely disappointed, and that his love-offering produced a most disastrous impression. The writer of Acts has endeavoured to disarm this story by adopting it in a modified form, and assigning it a place in his narrative before the conversion of

[1] See pp. 240, 259, 260, 290, 344, 346, and chapter xi.
[2] Acts xxiv. 17. [3] See pp. 233, 259, 319, 324.

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Paul, on the first mention of the preaching in Samaria.[1] No one could then suspect that it had any reference to the apostle of the gentiles. It runs as follows:—

Before Philip arrived in the Samaritan city a certain magician, called Simon, had established himself there. He gave himself out as something wonderful, as the Great Power of the Deity, and had long held the multitudes in awe and secured their adhesion by his magic arts; but now they all accepted the gospel, and even Simon himself became a follower of Jesus, received baptism, and attached himself to Philip, whose miraculous deeds he beheld with amazement. Now, when the Apostles at Jerusalem heard of the conversion of the Samaritans, they sent Peter and John to them, who prayed that they might receive the Holy Spirit, and afterwards imparted it to them by laying their hands upon them. Simon witnessed this, was seized with a desire to share their privilege, and offered to give the Apostles a sum of money if they would give him the power of communicating the Spirit to those on whom he laid his hands. But Peter rejected the proposal with horror, and launched a scathing rebuke against Simon: Let him and his money perish together! Did he think the gift of God could be bought? How base the means he took to his end, how corrupt his heart, how sunk in iniquity his life! Hereupon Simon, in terror of God's judgments, besought their intercession.

This story forms the centre round which a number of fabulous representations have been grouped in the old literature of heresy. To understand its meaning we must note the following points: First, that elsewhere in Jewish-Christian controversial writings Paul is very distinctly indicated as the foil of Peter, or Simon "the rock," under the nickname of Simon "the magician," which originally belonged to

[1] See p. 206.

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quite another man. Second, that "the baptism of the Holy Spirit," generally manifested in the "speaking with tongues" and other such phenomena, was regarded as the test of admission to the Messianic salvation,[1] so that the question here at issue is that of official reception into the future kingdom of Christ. Finally, that the privilege of being able to communicate this Spirit, which is here attributed to the Apostles in distinction from the evangelist, is elsewhere expressly ascribed by our author to the apostle of the gentiles likewise, in accordance with his usual desire to establish equality and harmony between Paul and the Twelve;[2] so that, in this passage, we may regard the power of giving the Spirit as representing the Apostolic dignity in its completeness. Bearing all this in mind, we see that this story was originally aimed at no other than Paul himself, who claimed the same exalted rank, the same Apostolic dignity and privileges as those accorded to the Twelve.[3] His zeal in collecting a generous love-offering, in the hope of reconciling the "pillars" to his work, and inducing them to recognise his converts as citizens of the kingdom of God, to recognise his gospel, his work, his mission, in a word, his Apostleship,[4] is here placed in the most odious light as an attempt to buy the full powers of an Apostle for gold! And the rebuke administered on this occasion by Peter perhaps served in the minds of his orthodox admirers to balance the never forgotten or forgiven attack of Paul upon him at Antioch.[5]

From all this we may safely infer that Paul's whole project was completely wrecked. He was rebuffed everywhere; and when the Jewish mob fell upon him, he was left completely to his fate by the Jewish-Christians; nay, who

[1] See pp. 156, 169, 303, 304. [2] See p. 304.
[3] 2 Corinthians xi. 4, 5, xii. 11; 1 Corinthians ix. 1 ff.; see pp. 323, 313.
[4] See p. 319. [5] See pp. 256, 257.

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knows but what he was pointed out and surrendered to the fury of the populace by the "false brethren" who were acquainted with him?—But let us listen to the account of the upshot given in the Acts. We have no means whatever of checking it, and shall therefore simply give it as it stands, with as little interruption as possible; only premising that the incredible story of the vow which introduces it, and the improbable character of many of its details, inspire us with well-founded doubts as to its truth.

The period of the vow had not yet quite expired, and Paul had been a Nazirite for some few days, when ill-luck would have it that certain Jews from Asia (Ephesus), who were just then at Jerusalem, found their old enemy, whom they had resisted so furiously throughout his long abode in their native land,[1] in the Temple. To see such a man in such a place filled them with rage, and made them fear the worst. A little while before, they had seen him walking about in the city with his friend Trophimus, of Ephesus; and, as soon as they caught sight of him in the sacred place, they took for granted that he had brought this uncircumcised companion with him into the Court of the Israelites, which no heathen might enter on pain of death. He was quite capable of such sacrilege! So, without inquiring whether it really was so, they rushed upon him, and inflamed the people by shouting, "Israelites, to the rescue! This is the man who preaches everywhere to all the world against our people, our Law, and our Temple; and now he is bringing Greeks into the sanctuary, and polluting the house of the Lord!"

Then the whole city was in a commotion, and a great tumult arose. Paul was dragged out of the Temple, and the Levites shut the gate after him for fear his blood should

[1] Acts xx. 19; 1 Corinthians xvi. 9.

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pollute the holy place.[1] The mob would certainly have made an end of Paul on the spot had not an unexpected rescue saved him. Claudius Lysias, the captain of the garrison in the castle of Antonia, that commanded the Temple from the north-west, was informed that all Jerusalem was in a turmoil, and he instantly rushed down upon the mob with the soldiers and officers that were about him. It occurred to him that this tumult might be connected with a former disturbance; for not long before a certain fanatic had appeared in the character of a prophet, had secured a certain following, especially amongst the zealots, and had led them from the wilderness of Judah to the Mount of Olives, promising that the walls of Jerusalem should fall down before their eyes, as those of Jericho had done in ancient time, whereupon he would release the city from its heathen oppressors and proclaim the Messianic kingdom. The governor, Felix, had dispersed his followers, after cutting down or capturing several hundred of them, but the chief culprit had escaped. Lysias thought he had perhaps come back again and was making this disturbance. In any case he must put a stop to the tumult.

When the Jews were aware of the captain's presence, they drew back for a moment and gave up striking Paul; upon which Lysias instantly seized him, threw him into fetters and manacles, and inquired who he was and what he had done. But the tumult was far too great for him to hope for an intelligible answer. One shouted one thing, and another another, till Lysias commanded the prisoner to be conveyed to the barracks in Antonia. Meanwhile the mob pressed forward so furiously, shouting "Away with him!" that when they reached the steps of the castle the soldiers had literally to carry Paul. When he was inside the ramparts and was being conveyed to his prison, he said to the

[1] 2 Kings xi. 15.

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captain, "Can I have a word with you?"—"So!" replied the other, "Do you understand Greek? I thought you were the Egyptian Jew who made such a disturbance a short time back, and collected those four thousand bandits in the wilderness!"—Upon this Paul declared himself a Jewish citizen of Tarsus, and begged to be allowed to address the people. His request was granted. He took his place at the top of the steps, demanded silence by a gesture, and when he had secured it addressed the people and their leaders in the language of the place, as follows: "Brothers and fathers! Listen to my defence." Now, when they heard that he was speaking in Hebrew they were more quiet yet, and he began to tell them of his descent, of his bringing up at Jerusalem, of his rigidly Jewish education under Gamaliel, of his zeal for the religion of the fathers, and the details of his persecution of the Nazarenes. It was only the irresistible force of the appearance of Jesus near Damascus (here described in vivid colours) that had brought him to himself; and it was Ananias, a man whose piety according to the Law had earned him the esteem of all his Jewish fellow-citizens, who had told him to what he was called and had baptised him. Finally, when he had returned to Jerusalem Jesus appeared to him in the Temple and commanded him, in direct contradiction with his personal wishes, plans, and expectations, to quit the holy city, where he would not be accepted, and go far away to the gentiles.

The author has been very careful, in framing this address to the people, to make Paul lay stress on every point which could please the Jews, such as the way in which he had spent his early life, his zeal for the Law, and especially the person of Ananias.[1] Accordingly he tells us that the people listened attentively so far, but as soon as they heard the word "gentiles" their passion burst out again as fiercely as ever, and

[1] See pp. 218, 231.

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they shrieked: "Away with him! He shall not live!" and in their impotent fury tore their garments and flung dust into the air. Then the captain, who did not understand the language of the country, and therefore had not the least idea what it was all about, put an end to the scene by ordering Paul to be taken in and forced to a confession by scourging, in order that he might get at the cause of the people's fury. Paul was already bound to the stake and the executioners ready to scourge him, when he asked the officer in charge whether he had the right to scourge a Roman citizen, and one who had not been condemned. The officer went at once to the captain and told him what Paul had said, so that he might know what he was doing. Then the captain came himself and asked Paul whether he was really a Roman. "Yes," he replied.—"I bought the citizenship myself for a great sum," said the captain.—"But I was born to it," answered Paul. Of course the orders to scourge him were at once countermanded, and indeed the captain was under some uneasiness already, because he had thrown a Roman citizen into chains without giving him a hearing.

The next day, in order to learn with certainty what it was that the Jews laid to the charge of Paul, he had the Sanhedrin called, and brought Paul before them without chains. The apostle gazed steadfastly at the assembly and said: "Men and brothers! I have walked before God with a clear conscience all my life." For these words the high priest, Ananias, son of Zebedeus, ordered the attendants to strike him on the mouth. That was too much for Paul's patience. "Strike me! God will strike you, you whited wall (hypocrite)," he burst out. "Are you sitting there to give sentence according to the Law, and do you dare to order them to strike me in violation of the Law?"—"How dare you revile God's high priest?" cried the bystanders.—Upon which Paul, unconditionally submissive to the Law, as usual, replied:

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"Brothers! had I known that he was the high priest I would never have transgressed the precept: Thou shalt not curse a leader of thy people." Then, knowing that one-half of the council consisted of Sadducees and the other half of Pharisees, he cried aloud: "Men and brothers! I am a Pharisee, as my fathers were before me. It is concerning the Messianic hope and the resurrection of the dead that I am now upon my trial!" These words caused an instant division between the two parties[1] and a great turmoil. Some of the scribes rose up and asserted vehemently: "We can find no harm in the man. And what if a spirit or an angel really did speak to him at Damascus?" The contest grew so violent that the captain began to be afraid they would tear Paul to pieces, and ordered the soldiers down to take him away to the castle.—This scene before the council is again entirely incredible. The self-righteous assertion with which Paul begins conflicts in more than one respect with his real sentiments. Besides he could not have helped knowing that the president was the high priest, or at any rate some person in authority; and in any case the style of excuse put into his mouth is by no means such as he would really have adopted. Above all, he adroitly throws the apple of discord into the assembly, by making an assertion which is true enough of the Paul of the Acts, but would have been a gross untruth, and therefore utterly impossible, on the lips of the historical Paul. Finally, the Pharisees were by no means so easy to take in as this story would make it seem, and the whole affair is improbability itself. The description is simply intended to make out that Paul's innocence was manifested even before the supreme Jewish court, and that the Pharisees themselves took his part, as Gamaliel had once done for Peter and the rest.[2] Afterwards the whole

[1] Compare p. 29 and Vol. V., pp. 6, 7.
[2] See pp. 183, 184.

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Sanhedrin is represented as hostile to him, which it really was. In a word, the author of the Acts has given us another of his fictions for the sake of displaying his apostle as an unimpeachable Jew of the strictest school.

The next night, he continues, Paul saw the Lord stand by him, and say, "Be of good cheer! As you have preached me at Jerusalem, so must you preach me at Rome also." But to all appearance the dangers still grew. The day after Paul's audience with the Sanhedrin, more than forty Jews bound themselves under a fearful oath neither to eat nor drink before they had slain him. They told the senators of their oath, and begged them to make an official request to the captain that Paul might be brought before the assembly again, in order that they might go into the affair more narrowly. While he was on his way to the hall the conspirators would kill him.

By good luck, however, the son of Paul's sister heard of the murderous project, went to his uncle at the castle and revealed the plot to him. Thereupon Paul sent one of the officers to introduce his nephew to the captain, in his name, as the bearer of important news. The captain received him well, stepped aside with him, and asked him what it was. In reply the young man told him of the request the Sanhedrin would make in the morning, and of the plot that it was meant to cover, upon which the captain dismissed him with strict injunctions not to tell a soul of the information he had lodged with him. Then he called two centurions and told them to get ready two hundred heavy and two hundred light armed soldiers and seventy horsemen, besides the needful beasts of burden, to set out for Cæsarea at nine o'clock in the evening, and convey Paul in safety to the governor, to whom meanwhile he himself prepared the following dispatch:—

"Claudius Lysias to the great governor Felix. Greeting!

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"This man was seized by the Jews and almost killed; but, understanding him to be a Roman, I hastened to the spot with the soldiers and rescued him. And desiring to know of what they accused him, I brought him before their council, and found that the accusation referred to some question of their Law, but involved nothing punishable by death or imprisonment. On hearing that an attack upon his person was contemplated, I have sent him without delay to you, at the same time instructing his accusers to urge their complaints against him before you."

The tribune's orders were strictly fulfilled. The infantry escorted Paul by night to Antipatris, about eleven leagues north-west of Jerusalem, beyond all danger of an attack from the Jews. Thence they returned on the following day to Antonia, leaving the cavalry the task of escorting the prisoner further. The troop arrived at Cæsarea, seven leagues further north, and Paul rode as a prisoner under armed escort into the very city which he had left a few days before as a free man, surrounded by friends.

The officer in charge gave Lysias's dispatch to the governor, and ushered Paul into his presence. Felix read the letter, asked from what province the prisoner came, was informed that it was Cilicia, announced his intention of examining him as soon as his accusers arrived, and put him in safe custody in the former palace of Herod the Great, which was now his own residence.

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Chapter XI.

PAUL'S IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH.

Acts XXIV.—XXVIII.; Philemon; Philippians.

WE are still without the authority of Titus (?), the eye-witness, whom we do not meet again till we come to Paul's departure for Rome. Meanwhile we have no guide but the writer of Acts, who lived much later, and modified or invented his history to suit the object he had in view. In the portion of his book that begins with Paul's arrival at Jerusalem and ends with his departure for Rome, his purpose is to make out that in every court, whether Jewish or heathen, and upon every occasion whatever, Paul was admitted and declared, by friend and foe alike, to be innocent of all the charges brought against him by his enemies;[1] and further that the Roman authorities were very favourably disposed towards him, and constantly shielded him against the unmerited hatred and the treacherous violence of the Jews.

All this he describes at length, but omits everything else, and passes over a period of two years in all but absolute silence.[2] The speeches he puts into the mouth of Paul, though modified according to the demands of the moment and the nature of the audience, are always intended to prove his scrupulous orthodoxy; and assure us that when seized he was in the very act of performing a meritorious religious rite. On the other hand, we are left in the dark as to the most essential feature of the trial, for we are never really told who Paul's accusers were or of what they accused him.

When we further bear in mind that the discourses, conversations, and dispatches which fill so large a portion of these chapters are all composed by the writer himself, and that the narratives in which they are set are by no means free from

[1] See pp. 337—339, 346. [2] Acts xxiv. 26, 27.

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improbabilities, we shall feel that very little is left as history. Indeed we can accept nothing with confidence except the bare facts that Paul became involved with the Jewish and Roman authorities, and was made a prisoner at Jerusalem, was held two years in captivity at Cæsarea, and then, after a disastrous voyage, at least two years in Rome. Even these facts we should not always feel at liberty to accept were it not that they contradict rather than support the special intention of the author, and therefore cannot have been invented by him! They doubtless formed the kernel of the universally accepted tradition concerning Paul, whose name, for good or ill, was in everybody's mouth. Moreover they are supported by the testimony of the eye-witness, for he tells us of Paul's arrival at Jerusalem and his departure as a prisoner for Rome. Uncertain as all the details are, we have nothing to add to or substitute for them, except of course in the case of the Roman magistrates mentioned, for they are known to history. We shall therefore give the narrative as it stands in Acts, with the reservations already made.

Felix, who had now been governor of Palestine for seven years, has a black mark set to his name in history. A freed man and favourite of the emperor Claudius, he "wielded the authority of a prince with the soul of a slave," addicting himself to every conceivable cruelty and excess. His third wife, a queen like the other two, was the fair Drusilla, sister of Agrippa II., who had deserted her husband, the king of Emesa, at the instance of Felix. Such was the judge who had now to decide Paul's fate.

The apostle was not deserted at Cæsarea by his fellow-deputies and other friends. No sooner had they heard where he had been taken than they hastened after him.[1] But neither did his enemies lose sight of him. Within five

[1] Acts xxiv. 23.

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days all was ready for the trial. A deputation from the Sanhedrin, headed by the high priest, appeared against Paul before the judgment seat, and their case was conducted by a certain Tertullus, whom they had brought as their orator or counsel. This man endeavoured to win the procurator's favour by covering him with false adulation, and then (to cut a long tale short, as he said) denounced Paul as a pestilent fellow who raised tumults amongst the Jews all over the world; a ringleader of the sect of Nazarenes, who had recently gone the length of actually desecrating the Temple; and who could not deny a single one of the charges they brought against him.

The members of the Sanhedrin likewise vented their hatred against Paul and confirmed all that Tertullus had said. Then Felix gave Paul leave to speak, and he began, in courteous but dignified language, to explain that it was only twelve days since he had entered the Holy City to worship, and that he had delivered no address in the Temple, or made any tumult in the synagogue or in the city. In a word the whole accusation was a forgery. He freely confessed to being a Nazarene. But what did that mean? Not a sectary, as they libellously asserted, but one who served the God of the fathers, firmly believing all that was written in the Law and the Prophets, and hoping in God, as they themselves did, that there would be a resurrection of the dead to blessedness and to misery. And because of this hope he always strove to keep his conscience free from offences against God or man. Now what were the real facts? After an absence of many years he had come to bring gifts of love to his people and offerings to God. This brought him into the Temple, in compliance with all the Levitical precepts, but without any such tumultuous concourse as they asserted; and there certain Asiatic Jews encountered him, whose conspicuous absence on the present occasion showed that they had not really any

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charge to bring against him. Nor could his present accusers charge him with any offence, when before the council, except that he had cried out: "It is for my hope of the resurrection that I am being tried!"

Felix was now abreast of the question, but he deferred giving any decision under pretext of awaiting the arrival of Lysias, the chief witness; meanwhile he gave orders that Paul's confinement should be made as easy as possible, and that his friends should be allowed to perform any services for him that they could.—A short time afterwards the procurator summoned Paul to come before himself and his wife Drusilla, who was a Jewess, and would therefore understand the matter. He listened to his exposition of the faith in Christ, but when he spoke of justice, temperance, and the judgment to come, the tyrant and adulterer trembled, and exclaimed: "That is enough for to-day! I will send for you again when I have leisure." At the same time he hoped that his prisoner might be ransomed, and therefore sent for him and conversed with him frequently. This went on for two years, and then Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus, and left Paul in prison to please the Jews.

Now Festus was a very different man from his predecessor, and ruled with justice and moderation; but the previous course of the trial was repeated with little change under him also. Within three days of his arrival and installation as procurator he departed for the capital of Judæa, where the members of the Sanhedrin laid their charges against Paul before him, and begged him as a favour to send the prisoner up to Jerusalem, with the treacherous design of murdering him upon the way. But Festus refused. He was himself going to Cæsarea in a few days, he said, and since the prisoner was in keeping there, the Jewish authorities must go there too, and if they had any charges to make must make them there.

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This they did. After a stay of only eight or ten days the procurator returned to Cæsarea, and the very morning after his arrival the trial took place. Paul was brought in, and the Jews of Jerusalem appeared against him and made a number of heavy charges against him, none of which they could substantiate. The apostle, on his side, declared that he had committed no offence against the law of the Jews, against the Temple, or against the emperor. Festus, in order to gratify the Jews, now asked: "Are you willing to go up to Jerusalem and receive my sentence there?" But Paul, perceiving the full danger of such a proposal, rejected it decisively. He was now standing before an Imperial Roman court, and insisted on his right of refusing to appear before any other. Besides, he had committed no offence against the Jews, as the procurator well knew, and they had therefore no claim upon him whatever. "If I am a malefactor, guilty of any capital offence, I have nothing to urge against the sentence of death. But since there is not a word of truth in their accusations, no one has power to surrender me to them. I appeal to Cæsar!"—A Roman citizen, resident in a province, had the right of appeal to the imperial court at Rome if he thought he had been arbitrarily treated, misused, or unlawfully sentenced by the provincial authorities. So this unexpected appeal put an instant close to the proceedings, much to the dismay of the accusers. The court rose for a moment, and Festus deliberated with his assessors, according to rule, as to the validity of the appeal. There was nothing in the nature of the accusation or the conditions of Paul's citizenship to invalidate it; and when the court resumed the procurator gave his decision thus: "You have appealed to Cæsar. You shall go to him."

A few days afterwards Herod Agrippa II., king of certain districts north and north-east of Galilee, who was also governor of the Temple at Jerusalem, and had the high

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priesthood in his gift, arrived at Cæsarea with his sister Bernice, the widow of the late king Herod of Chalcis, who was staying with him. They came to pay their court to Festus, and remained with him some time. Festus took occasion to mention the case of Paul to the Jewish king, as to one who was admirably fitted to judge of it. He told him how this prisoner had been left by his predecessor, how the council at Jerusalem had demanded his condemnation, and how he had informed them that the Romans were not in the habit of surrendering a man to punishment before he had had the opportunity of meeting his accusers and defending himself. He had lost no time in looking into the matter, and had discovered that it was not a question of any political or civil offence, but of certain points of Jewish controversy, and especially of Paul's assertion that a certain Jesus who had died long ago was still alive. At a loss how to deal with the matter, he had asked the prisoner whether he would have his case investigated at Jerusalem, but he had answered by appealing to the supreme court, and was now being held, according to his wish, in readiness to be sent to the emperor on the first opportunity.—Agrippa answered courteously that he should be glad to hear this man himself.—"To-morrow morning, then," replied Festus.

On the following day the audience hall presented an imposing spectacle. On the seat of honour sat the noble and exalted Roman. Beside him were his royal guests in all their pomp and splendour, as well as the military officers and the distinguished men of Cæsarea. Festus ordered Paul into his presence, and when he arrived began the proceedings as follows:—

"Be it known to king Agrippa and to all here present that this is the man whom the whole body of Jews, both here and at Jerusalem, have denounced to me with the utmost violence as unworthy to live. But I could not discover the

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smallest ground for a sentence of death, and have determined to accept his appeal to the emperor. Meanwhile I cannot put the indictment against him into any intelligible form for the emperor's information, and that is why I have called him before this assembly, and especially before you, king Agrippa, in order that when you have heard him you may be able to advise me what to write. For it seems monstrous to send a prisoner to Rome without saying what he is accused of."

Then Agrippa turned to the prisoner and said: "You are permitted to speak."

Paul extended his hand impressively and began. He esteemed himself fortunate in being allowed to answer the accusations brought against him in the presence of king Agrippa, who was well acquainted with all the duties and all the controversies of the Jewish religion, and whose kind attention he now besought. All the Jews knew what his life had been from his youth up, and how he had lived as a Pharisee of the strictest religious school; and even now the sole charge against him was his hope in the Messianic kingdom, promised by God to the fathers, and expected with devoutest zeal by all the nation. And what was the ground of the charge? Could anything be judged incredible now that God had raised one from the dead?[1] He, Paul, had himself been a violent persecutor of the followers of Jesus—as he proceeded to show in detail—until the risen one appeared to him in glory near Damascus, addressed many words to him, and sent him out as his chosen witness before Jew and gentile. In obedience to his behest he had preached repentance at Damascus, at Jerusalem, throughout Judæa, and to the heathens also, and that was why the Jews had seized him in the Temple and attempted to destroy him. But by God's help he was still preaching to small and great, never going beyond what Moses and the prophets had predicted

[1] After an amended version of Acts xxvi. 8; compare pp. 223, 224.

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concerning the calling of the Christ, who must first suffer and then, as the first-fruits of the resurrection, cause truth and righteousness to be proclaimed to the people of God and to the heathens.

At this point the discourse is broken short, as we shall presently see. The author has entirely omitted all reference to the real accusation; and, on this occasion, in going over the history of Paul's previous life, of his conversion, and his subsequent labours, he throws his mission to the gentiles quite into the background, puts his Jewish orthodoxy prominently forward, and brings his apostolic career into the closest connection with the Jewish beliefs in the resurrection and the Messiah. All this is in order to show how undeserved and unreasonable were the hatred and persecution of the Jews. We are informed accordingly that the impression made upon the Jewish king was eminently favourable; but when the heathen Festus heard Paul speak once more of the resurrection,[1] he cried aloud: "Paul, you are raving! Your great learning has made you mad."—"No, great Festus!" said the apostle with quiet dignity, "I am not raving, but am uttering words of truth and reason. The king understands all these matters thoroughly, and I can therefore speak to him freely; for I am confident that none of these things are unknown to him, for the suffering and resurrection of the Christ took place in no remote corner of the earth. King Agrippa! do you believe the prophets? I know you do!"—"You would find it no hard task to make me a Christian myself," said the king in answer to his appeal.—"Would to God," exclaimed Paul, "that whether I found it hard or easy, not only you but all who are here present might be brought to the state that I am in—except for these chains!"

Then the king, the procurator, Bernice, and all the grandees rose from their seats and withdrew. There was

[1] Compare pp. 279, 278.

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but one opinion: "This man has done nothing to deserve death or imprisonment." In fact Agrippa said to Festus: "If he had not appealed to the emperor he might have been set at liberty."

The apostle's innocence was fully recognised by competent judges, and could never again be attacked or questioned.

When the journey to Italy was decided on, in the autumn of 61 A.D., Paul and several other prisoners were handed over to a certain Julius, a centurion of the imperial cohort. The apostle was again accompanied by two of his eight former companions, namely, Aristarchus of Thessalonica and the author of the diary upon whose narrative we now come once more. It is probably introduced in this place by the author of Acts because of the great interest he attaches to Paul's journey to the capital of the world.[1]

There did not happen to be a ship bound for Rome at Cæsarea, so they embarked on a merchantman which was going to touch at several Asiatic ports on her way to Adramyttium, in Mysia. In one place or another they would be sure to find means of transport to Italy. On the second day they reached Sidon; [and Julius, who treated Paul with great courtesy, allowed him to visit his friends and enjoy their hospitable care]. Loosing from Sidon they were hindered by adverse winds from making the coast of Lycia direct, and therefore sailed round between Cyprus and the mainland through the Cilician sea and the Pamphylian gulf, to the seaport Myra. Here the centurion found an Alexandrian ship on the point of sailing for Italy, and embarked his passengers on her. Altogether there were two hundred and seventy-six persons on board.

They made such little way that after many days they had barely come over against the Carian peninsula Cnidus. Here

[1] See pp. 269, 270.

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the wind compelled them to bear down upon Crete by cape Salmōne, which they had difficulty in rounding, after which they reached the bay of Fair Havens on the southern coast of the island, near the city of Lasĕa. They had already been long on the voyage and the season was advanced; for the great day of atonement[1] was already past, so that it must have been about the first of October. Paul's experience led him to anticipate danger, and he said: "My friends, I see that if we make this voyage it will be with great loss, not only to the ship and cargo, but to our own lives." In vain. The centurion paid more attention to the helmsman and the captain than to Paul; and since the haven they were now in offered no sufficient accommodation for the winter, the general feeling was in favour of attempting to reach the city of Phenix, the harbour of which opened westward. A gentle wind from the south assured them that they would accomplish their purpose, so they loosed anchor, but hugged the shore of Crete.

Soon afterwards a furious wind from the north-east bore down upon the ship from the mountain-land behind, and swept her helplessly before it. There was nothing for it but to let her drive; and as they ran under the little island of Clauda they barely succeeded in saving the ship's boat from being swept away by the storm. Then they undergirded the vessel, as it is called, that is to say they passed cables underneath her and drew them tight, so as to hold her together. In dread of being cast upon the great Syrtis, with its rocks and shallows, they now furled all the sails, made fast the rudderbands, and let the ship drive again. The next day they were so hard pressed that they had to lighten the ship of her cargo, and the day after that the passengers and crew threw out the very tackle with their own hands. Day after day the storm raged on with unabated fury, and they could

[1] See Vol. IV., p. 229.

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see neither sun nor stars, and lost all hope of saving their lives. The mariner's compass of course was not invented in those days, and they had no means of knowing so much as in what direction they were drifting.

[Now when their despair and terror had long kept them fasting, Paul went to them and said: "You ought to have listened to me and not loosed from Crete, and then you would have escaped all this. But now I would have you take courage, for not one of you will perish, only the ship will be lost. In the night an angel of the God whose I am and whom I worship stood by me and said: 'Paul! you have no risk of death to fear. You must yet appear before the emperor; and for your sake God will spare all your fellow-passengers.' So pluck up heart, my friends, for I trust in my God that it will all come to pass as the angel said. But we shall be cast upon some island."]

It was fourteen days since they had left Fair Havens and begun driving about in the Ionian Sea, when the sailors, suspecting that land was near, sounded, and read twenty and soon afterwards fifteen fathoms, or ninety feet, upon which they threw out four anchors from the stern, for fear of striking upon rocks. But as they were waiting and longing for the dawn, the sailors contrived a treacherous plan, which Paul fortunately discovered and frustrated. They determined to escape alone in the boat, and leave the passengers to their fate. They were already letting down the boat, on pretext of putting out anchors from the prow, when Paul warned the centurion and his men of the danger: "If the crew deserts us you are all undone!" The soldiers, who were accustomed to the promptness of military measures, made short work of it by cutting the ropes and letting the boat go. [Towards daybreak Paul exhorted them all to take food, for they had been in such terror for their lives during the last fortnight that they had eaten nothing. They had better refresh themselves now, and

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be ready to save themselves, for not a hair of their heads should be hurt. With these words Paul took some bread, uttered the blessing aloud, broke, and began to eat. Then they all imitated his example and were greatly relieved. The last rations were served out, everyone eating as much as he chose, and then they further lightened the ship by throwing out all the provisions, of which there must have been considerable stores, for the passengers were numerous.

Now when day broke they could not recognise the land, but they saw a creek with a shelving coast, and determined if possible to bring the ship into it. So they took up the anchors, loosed the rudderbands, hoisted the top-sail to the wind, and made for the coast. But they struck upon a bank and were stranded. The vessel's prow was fixed immovably, and the waves dashed her stern to pieces.

The soldiers suggested killing the prisoners, for fear some of them should swim off and escape; but the centurion [who was anxious to save Paul] would not allow it, but commanded those that could swim to throw themselves in first and make for the land, after which the rest must save themselves as best they might on planks and spars. Thus they all came safe to land.—The supposed spot at which they landed, on the north-east coast of the island of Malta, is still known as St. Paul's Bay.

This narrative of the voyage and shipwreck bears unmistakable signs, apart from the use of the first person, of coming from an eye-witness. The passages included in square brackets, however, may be removed without breaking the connection; they betray a different style from that of Titus (?), are often in contradiction with his narrative in general or with some of its details, and are always in perfect harmony with the purpose of Acts, which would be enough in itself to make us suspect them. Moreover they are intrinsically improbable.

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It was not long before they discovered that they were on the island of Melita. They were received with the greatest kindness by the inhabitants, who were Carthaginians by descent. They lighted a fire for them and took them all in to protect them from the furious rain and the cold. Now when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks and thrown them upon the fire, an adder darted out, when it felt the heat, and fastened upon his hand. When the people of the place saw the creature hanging on his hand they said to each other: "Surely this man must be some murderer whom Dike (the goddess of justice) cannot suffer to live, even though he has escaped from the sea." Put Paul shook off the adder into the fire and suffered no harm. They all expected him to swell up or suddenly fall down dead; but after a good while, when they saw that nothing happened to him, they completely changed their opinion and held him for a god.

Now the governor of the island, a certain Publius, had an estate in the neighbourhood, where he hospitably entertained Paul and his friends for three days; and in return the apostle cured his father, who was in bed with fever and dysentery, by praying and laying his hands upon him. After this the other sick people in the island came and were healed, upon which they overwhelmed the three friends with tokens of honour; and when they departed, three months afterwards, gave them everything they could require.—

We suspect that this account of the stay at Malta was not written as it stands by Titus (?), but was modified and above all greatly shortened by the writer of the Acts. Surely Paul's companion must have recorded what took place after the first three days, and where they stayed during the three months they spent on the island after leaving Publius. He must also have had something to tell us of the winter's doings, for we may be sure that Paul was not sitting idle all the time. Even the stories about the first two days were

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probably not recorded by Titus (?) as we now have them. At any rate they raise our suspicion on several grounds. For instance, if the people came to regard Paul as a god, we might fairly expect to hear how they showed their belief and how Paul corrected them. At any rate, if the story is not an invention by the author of Acts, suggested by reminiscences of Lystra, we must suppose that it is broken off in the middle. So again the cure of all the sick people in the island, recorded in such a summary style, reminds us of a special characteristic of the writer of Acts, and is doubtless his addition.[1]

The spring had now arrived, says Titus (?), and with it came an opportunity of sailing for Rome. An Alexandrian vessel, the "Castor and Pollux," had wintered at the island and now took our travellers on board. First they sailed to Syracuse, where they spent three days; then they coasted along the east of Sicily and the southern extremity of Italy, where they reached Rhegium, and were then carried by a south wind in less than two days to Puteŏli, near Naples. Here their voyage was at an end and they took a week's rest. Our travellers found some Christians there, and received from them the refreshing sympathy they so much needed as they drew near to Rome, equally uncertain of what awaited them from the judicial authorities and from the Christians. Then they went along the famous Appian Way, through the plain of Campania and the Pomptine Marshes, to the capital of the world.

The news of their arrival on Italian soil had gone before them, and a band of Christians had come to meet them at Appii Forum, a notorious place about thirty-nine and a half miles from Rome. Others met them at the Three Taverns, a baiting place some nine miles further north; all which restored the apostle's courage, and he thanked God. The place of their destination was now soon reached.

[1] See pp. 150, 238, 239, 179, 182.

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So Paul was at last in Rome, though under very different circumstances from those he had anticipated.[1] Prisoner as he was, he still found some opportunities of work. According to an old account,[2] the prisoners were at once conducted to the barracks of the imperial guard (the Pretorians) at the other end of the city, and given in charge to their commander, who was the celebrated Burrhus, Nero's tutor and good genius, but soon to be his victim. This is very credible. The apostle, we are further informed, obtained leave to live in his own lodgings with the soldier who had charge of him and to whom he was chained by the arm, provided of course that these lodgings were within the barracks or their immediate neighbourhood. He was even allowed to go out with the soldier. He could receive visits and write letters. In short he enjoyed an amount of freedom which enabled him still to do something towards accomplishing the task of his life.

But what was his reception by the Christians at Rome? Much depended upon this, not only with respect to the alleviations of his personal lot, but with regard to the abundance of his opportunities of labour and the prospects of their bearing fruit. What impression had his letter made two years before? We have just heard that some of the brethren came to meet him, but we knew already from his own epistle that there were some who sympathised with him at Rome, and the letter itself can hardly have failed to do something, at least, towards attaching others to his person and his gospel. But what about the community as a whole, or the Jewish-Christian majority, which joined the great Jewish population of the capital in its detestation of the Roman government, which observed the sabbath and the Jewish feasts, and some members of which abstained, in Essenic piety, from all animal food?[3] We find no answer to this question in the

[1] See p. 324.

[2] Acts xxviii. 16. (In the Authorised Version, but not in the oldest manuscripts.)

[3] See pp. 325, 328, 246.

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book of Acts. At Rome the author breaks off the diary of Paul's companion, just as he did before at Jerusalem, and even seems to have greatly abbreviated the record of the meetings at Puteŏli, at Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns. Hardly any of the remaining statements in Acts deserve credit.

Within three days of his arrival, we are told, Paul summoned the heads or leaders of the Roman Jews, and set forth how he had been seized at Jerusalem and handed over to the Roman governor at Cæsarea, without having committed any offence against his people or against the customs of the fathers. The governor had looked into the matter and had wished to set him at liberty, but the opposition of the Jews ran so high that he (Paul) had felt constrained to appeal to the emperor, though he had not the least intention of lodging any complaint against his people. All this had made him wish to see and speak with them, for he wore his chains in the cause of Israel's Messianic expectation.—The Jews answered that they had received no letters about him from Judæa, and had never heard any ill of him by word of mouth; but they desired to hear what he had to say, for all they knew about this sect of the Nazarenes was that it was everywhere spoken against.—So a day was fixed and they came in greater numbers to his dwelling, where he clearly and powerfully preached the kingdom of God and demonstrated the Messianic dignity of Jesus out of the Law and the Prophets from morning till evening. Some of his hearers were convinced, but others remained unbelieving. They departed therefore contending with each other, while Paul reminded them of that cheerless saying of Isaiah's about the impenitence of Israel,[1] and exclaimed: "Know then that this divine salvation is now offered to the gentiles, and that they will receive it."—And so it was. For two whole years Paul remained in his own dwelling and received all who came to

[1] See Vol. III., p. 328; and Vol. V., p. 182.

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him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching them about the Lord Jesus Christ, boldly and without hindrance.—

Observe that in this narrative Paul's communications with the Christian community and the relations in which he stood to it are studiously passed over, and an interview with the Jews is substituted, although really the apostle had nothing at all to do with them. The description of the meeting itself is full of impossibilities. These Jews have never heard anything about Paul, good or bad, by writing or by word of mouth! What is more, they know nothing about the Nazarenes except that they are spoken against! The writer forgets that only a few lines back he has spoken of Roman believers. Finally, in express contradiction of the apostle's own declaration, in his letter, that he was coming to Rome especially for the gentiles, we are once more told, amid repeated assertions of his orthodoxy, that he turned first to the Jews, and only felt at liberty to go to the heathens when the Jews had manifested their want of faith. Thenceforth he preached to the gentiles under the friendly protection of the Roman authorities.

Thus the only statement which we can accept is the concluding one, that Paul spent at least two years in Rome as a prisoner, but was not altogether deprived of the opportunity of preaching the gospel. For the rest, the author does not give us a single detail concerning all this period. Now that he has brought Paul to Rome and seen him preach Christianity under the protection of the state, his book is completed. We must therefore look round for other sources of information. Our author's silence as to the relations between the apostle and the Christian community at Rome gives grounds for unfavourable surmises, which find confirmation elsewhere; for we still possess three short letters which are attributed with more or less probability to Paul, and which, if really his, must have been written during his Roman imprisonment.

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The most doubtful of the three is a short note to Timothy, supposed to be preserved in our Second of Timothy,[1] which is certainly not authentic as a whole. We mention it with the less hesitation because, even if not from the apostle's own hand, it may very well contain a few historical reminiscences nevertheless. Here Paul complains that no one had been with him to support him at his first trial; but though all had deserted him yet the Lord had helped him and strengthened him, that he might finish his task and preach to all the heathens. Thus had he been saved from the jaws of death. He mentions particularly that a certain Alexander, a coppersmith, had treated him with great hostility, and that all those of Asia had turned away from him. The Ephesian Onesiphŏrus was a pleasing exception. He had previously done great service to the good cause in his native city, and had recently searched for Paul in Rome until he found him, had not been ashamed of associating with a prisoner, and had often refreshed his heart. At the moment of writing the apostle was bereft of the society of all his friends except Luke, and he therefore urgently begged Timothy to come to him as quickly as possible and bring Mark with him.

The second of the letters we spoke of is probably authentic. It is the little note to Philemon, whom we know already as a fellow-worker of Paul's, and one whom he himself had brought to the faith.[2] Now one of this man's slaves was a certain Onesĭmus, who had robbed or otherwise injured his master and then run away for fear of punishment. He had come into accidental contact with Paul at Rome, and had been converted to Christianity. The apostle had conceived a sincere affection for him, and had found him so serviceable that he would gladly have kept him at his side. But nevertheless he deter-

[1] 2 Timothy i. 1, 2, 15—18, iv. 9—18.
[2] Philemon *v.* 19; compare p. 305.

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mined to do without him, and persuaded him to return to his master, whose property he still remained; but for fear of his being heavily punished he gave him this letter to take with him.

It is addressed to Philemon and also to Appia and Archippus, probably his wife and son, and the congregation that usually met at his house. Paul leaves no means untried to secure pardon for Onesĭmus. He adopts the most winning tone, reminds Philemon of his advanced age and his imprisonment for the gospel's sake, speaks of Onesĭmus as henceforth less a slave than a brother, tries every means of pleading for him and commending him to his master's forgiveness. He playfully draws out a formal order to Philemon to settle the slave's debts from his (Paul's) account, reminds Philemon how much he owes him, and expresses his hope of a speedy release, when he will visit Colossæ and stay with him.

We value this short letter, not only because of the interesting and characteristic circumstance which it records, and the testimony it bears to Paul's personal influence, even on a runaway slave, and his tact in pressing a delicate point, but also because it shows us that at this moment he had some prospect of being released, and intended when free to go to Asia Minor. Moreover the greeting shows us that the Colossian Epăphras, whom we know already, shared the apostle's captivity, and that Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, and Luke were with him, besides Timothy, in whose name, as well as his own, he sends the letter.

The Epistle to the Philippians yields a richer harvest. If, as we have supposed, it is really from the apostle's hand, it must have been written and sent off when he had already been in Rome some time, perhaps at the end of 63 A.D. A short time before he had experienced a great delight. A former fellow-labourer and fellow-soldier, Epaphrodĭtus, a

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Philippian, had searched him out at Rome, and had brought him a present in money, which must have been exceedingly welcome, in the name of the believers at Philippi. Anxious days had followed, for Epaphroditus fell dangerously ill. When he recovered he longed to return home, especially since his friends were uneasy about him. So Paul sent him on his way, with hearty gratitude, and gave him this letter to the Philippians, in the greeting of which the name of Timothy again appears.

We learn from the contents that the apostle's imprisonment was not without fruits for the gospel. The imperial body-guard and others with whom he was thrown into contact gave him their attention; and what was more, many of the Roman Christians were encouraged by his example to preach the Christ boldly, though with very diverse motives; for while some were actuated by love and esteem for him, others (Jewish-Christians) cherished the hostile design of aggravating the trials of his present lot. But in any case Christ was being preached, and that was his greatest joy and blessing.

We are further given to understand that he had drawn together a band of believers, whose greetings he sends, and had even won certain members of the emperor's household, probably subordinate officials or servants, for the gospel. But meanwhile he could not rely upon all his fellow-workers; for when he announces his intention of sending Timothy to the Philippians, in hopes of receiving good news of them, as soon as he can foresee with certainty the result of his trial, he adds that he has no one else with him so faithful to him and so sure to regard their interests as Timothy. All the rest were selfish, but the Philippians knew Timothy of old.

Paul also relied upon going to Philippi himself. But his mood and his personal expectations constantly change as he writes. At one moment he expects a martyr's death to crown

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the work of his life, which he himself would wish, for then he would be taken straight to Christ as one who had died for him.[1] But generally he feels no doubt that he will be released, perhaps speedily, and will continue to work, perhaps till the return of the Lord; for this would be best for the community. In any case the result, whether life or death, will be to the glory of the Christ.

Throughout this letter, addressed more especially to the overseers and deacons of the community, we are struck by the warmth of tone and the intimate relations which had subsisted from the first between the apostle and the Philippian converts. The latter, as we know already, had shown a generosity even beyond their means on occasion of the collection for Jerusalem, had twice sent sums of money to the apostle more than ten years ago, and now came to his assistance again. Paul on his side made an exception in their favour to his otherwise universal rule of accepting no subsidies from his converts. In many respects the Philippians gave him cause to rejoice; and they were now suffering oppression for the faith as he was himself. We notice, especially in the early portion of the epistle, that Paul has learned to separate his own person from the cause of the gospel, and has become genuinely tolerant towards the opponents who pursued him with relentless hatred even to Rome. But in the two concluding chapters he falls into the old tone, denounces them more bitterly than ever as "dogs, evil workers, mutilated." In answer to their Jewish arrogance he once more enumerates the legal privileges which he had cast under his feet for Christ's sake,[2] and calls them enemies of the cross. He emphatically warns the Philippians against them and against all sectarian animosity, exhorts Euodia and Syntyche by name and the community in general to unanimity, humi-

[1] Compare Vol. V., p. 426.
[2] See p. 213.

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lity, and self-denying love, after the example of Christ, who had relinquished his heavenly glory, and had been obedient even to the death upon the cross.

"Be blameless and upright, unpolluted children of God, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, amongst whom you appear like lights of heaven in the world!"[1] Paul had good reason to utter such words as these to the Philippians, for if he saw or heard anything of what was going on at Rome, its foul iniquity must have sent a sickening shudder through his heart, and made him more certain than ever that the Lord was near at hand and that the world hastened to its close. Such a wild outburst of shameless infamy as took place in 62 A.D. and the following years, under Nero's rule, the world has never witnessed before or since. We suspect that the apostle himself was one of its victims.

We suspect it, but we cannot be certain.—Since the book of Acts breaks off abruptly after mentioning that Paul remained two years in Rome, it follows that after this period some change in his lot took place. Why is there not a word about his subsequent fate, whether release and renewed activity or the death of a martyr? A later tradition, founded on what was known or reported of Paul's own plans and expectations,[2] says that he was set at liberty, that he carried out his original projects, was then taken prisoner again, and perished in Rome, by the hand of the executioner, in the year 67 A.D. The legend adds that it was on June 29th, and that Peter was his fellow-victim, he being beheaded and Peter crucified with his head downwards. But all this is groundless speculation. There is no trace of the apostle's life or preaching after the period to which we have already brought them; and the detestation with which the Christians were regarded just at that moment in Rome makes it highly im-

[1] Philippians ii. 15. [2] See pp. 324, 367, 368, 369.

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probable that Paul should have been released. We have every reason to suppose that he perished amid the horrors of the summer of 64 A.D. But why does the author of Acts tell us nothing? Why does he simply drop his hero, as he has previously dropped Peter and Barnabas? There is not the smallest indication that he intended to complete his task in another work, and even if there were we should still have to ask why he broke off just here. Is it possible that his anxiety to hold the balance between Peter and Paul induced him to say nothing of the latter's crown of martyrdom, because tradition had not as yet woven the similar crown with which it afterwards[1] girt the brow of Peter? Or did he stop at this point because he had completed his design of pourtraying the spread of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome, and because the constant burden of his narrative had been the friendly reception and protection which Paul had received at the hands of the Roman magistracy, so that he shrank from destroying the impression by touching on the fierce contrast of that dismal close, in the horrors of Nero's persecution, in which the apostle disappeared?

Enough! On July 19th, 64 A.D., a fire broke out at Rome and made unheard-of ravages. It spread with incredible rapidity, and nothing could check its fury. It was not till the sixth day that it seemed to be got under, and it soon broke out again and raged for three days more. Of the fourteen districts of the huge capital but four remained. In seven the fire had left charred and blackened walls alone, and the other three were heaps of smoking ruins! The maddened populace believed that the emperor had kindled the flames; and he was doubtless guilty in the matter, though he could not have foreseen the appalling catastrophe. Now when Nero found that no religious processions and no generosity of provision for the impoverished victims of the

[1] John xxi. 18, 19; 2 Peter i. 14.

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disaster could free him from the suspicion he had incurred or restore him to popular favour, he adopted fresh tactics and declared that a strict investigation had brought it to light that the fire was raised by the Christians.

Who furnished him with this monstrous conception? Can it have been his Jewish favourites? In any case the story found acceptance. The Christians, who had increased considerably in numbers since Paul arrived in Rome, and whose organisation was now more distinct than formerly from that of the synagogue, had excited public attention; while their holding aloof from the corrupt heathen society and their expectation of the end of the world, which some of them may have hailed in this very fire, had earned them the character of "enemies of mankind," with the populace and the cultivated classes alike. A horrible persecution broke out. Some of the believers were crucified. Others were thrown to the lions in the amphitheatre, or wrapped in the skins of animals and torn to pieces by bloodhounds. Yet others were smeared with resin and pitch, secured to stakes of pinewood, and lighted up at nightfall to serve as torches.

The last traces of Paul are lost in this night of horror. Are we to look for his blackened corpse amongst the ruins of the conflagration? Or did he literally fight with wild beasts, and this time without being saved from the lion's mouth?[1]

Of his friends and fellow-workers, too, we have lost all certain information, except that we are told a few years later on that Timothy had been a prisoner, and was just released. Uncertain speculations or traditions point out Apollos as the possible author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Mark and Silvanus as the companions of Peter, and Titus as labouring in Crete and in Dalmatia.[2] But the fate of these men is far

[1] 1 Corinthians xv. 32; 2 Timothy iv. 17.

[2] Hebrews xiii. 23; 1 Peter v. 12, 13; Titus i. 5; 2 Timothy iv. 10.

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from exciting the same interest in our minds as that of the apostle himself. The dead silence of history, unbroken even by his biographer and defender the author of Acts, has involved his martyr-death in obscurity, and has suffered this greatest of the followers of Jesus, this founder of the Christian Church, to fall by an unnoted—and in that sense an inglorious—death. In this there is something very painful.

Paul was such as we have described him—the greatest of the followers of Jesus, and the founder of the Christian Church! Attempts have indeed been made to exalt him at the expense of Jesus, and to place him above his master in penetration and grasp of mind, in freedom and breadth of view, and in superiority to national prejudice. This is a mistake. The admission of the heathens to the kingdom of God had already found a place in the mind of Jesus. All that was great and good in Paul's work he accomplished under the mastery of Christ's spirit; and he himself ascribed it all, and ascribed it solely, to the might of the Christ which had come upon him and dwelt in him. Nay! we must go further: He stands so far below Jesus that in his subtle doctrinal system we can hardly recognise the simple but eternally-enduring and inexhaustible wealth of the principles of Jesus; in the sharp lines of his personality we can hardly trace the lineaments of the beloved image of Jesus. But this is undeniable: that the victory of the gospel over the heathen world is mainly due to the power and the gifts of Paul, with his insignificant person but his mighty spirit, with his zeal and inspiration, his elasticity and perseverance, his unconditional self-surrender to his work. It was he whose marvellous power and intensity of soul and whose utter self-sacrifice severed Christianity from the synagogue, when without him it would have remained an insignificant or forgotten Jewish sect; it was he who worked it out into a new principle of life and a new system of religion, who proclaimed and estab-

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lished it in two continents with a courage, an energy, and a perseverance that have never been surpassed. In a word, Christianity, and therefore humanity, owes an inestimable debt to Paul; and, except Jesus, we know of no human being who has won and still retains, after so many ages, an influence like his.

Chapter XII.

THE COMMUNITIES AFTER THE DEATH OF PAUL.

Matthew XIII. 24—30, 36—43.
Revelation; James; Jude.—Hebrews; Colossians.
2 Thessalonians; Matthew XXIV. 4—41;[1] Luke XVIII. 1—8;
2 Peter.
1 Peter; Ephesians; 2 Timothy; Titus; 1 Timothy; 1 John;
2 John; 3 John.

"IN making ready for the kingdom of God, many perplexities arise, such as this parable may illustrate:—

"A certain man had sown good and pure seed upon his land. But while he was asleep his enemy came and scattered darnel seed all about amongst the wheat. Both wheat and darnel grew up for a time without anyone noticing the difference; but when the ears began to form, then the labourers saw with dismay that the wheat was all mixed with the shabby darnel-stalks. So they went to ask their master what it could mean, and he replied: 'A hostile man has done it.' Then they asked whether they should not go at once and weed out all the darnel; but he checked their zeal and forbade them, because they might so easily root up the wheat with it. 'Let them both grow together,' he said, 'till the harvest. Then I will tell the reapers to pick out the darnel before they bind up the sheaves and to make it up

[1] Mark xiii. 5 ff.; Luke xvii. 22 ff., xxi. 8 ff.

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into bundles for the furnace; but the corn they must gather into my barn.'"

Possibly this parable is founded upon some simpler one which Jesus may really have uttered as a companion to that of "the sower."[1] But in its present form it is due to the Jewish-Christians, and refers to what they regarded as the melancholy spectacle of so many members of the Christian communities still preserving their gentile modes of life. Such men amongst the true heirs of the Messianic salvation were like darnel amongst wheat.[2] They well knew that it was all the work of "a hostile man," who had scattered the false doctrine of "lawlessness" far and wide.—Observe that this expression, "a hostile man," occurs elsewhere in Jewish-Christian writings, where it is unmistakably used to designate Paul. And it is doubtless specially to him that it applies here also. It was he who had planted the weeds!—But how could the Lord suffer such a state of things to continue? Alas! in many a place the separation could not be effected except with great hurt to the faithful; and before long, at the day of judgment, the Lord would command the angels to sift out the members of the community who ate meat sacrificed to idols, or were guilty of any other such "abomination and uncleanness," and consign them to the place of weeping and gnashing of teeth.[3]

But when the first Evangelist took up this parable into his narrative, we see by the interpretation he adds that he was not aware of its strongly anti-Pauline purpose. He simply took it to mean that the Church, by the will of her Lord, must suffer the wicked to remain amongst the faithful until the last judgment. So he says: "The weeds are the children of the devil, and the 'enemy' is the devil himself."

Now when we consider it rightly we shall find in all this

[1] Vol V., p. 195. [2] See pp. 298, 299; and Vol. V., p. 129.
[3] See Vol. V., pp. 393, 394.

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the brief epitome of the internal history of the communities after Paul's death. In the first place the parable itself reflects the unabated bitterness of the Jewish-Christians against the disciples of the apostle of the gentiles, together with the unshaken hope of all the believers alike in the speedy and glorious return of the Christ. In the next place Matthew's interpretation indicates the disappearance of these early disputes, together with the relinquishing of the ideal of a pure community, and the design of taking up and holding together in the Church good and bad alike; all which makes up the old Catholicism. These three points then we must briefly deal with in succession; first, the continued strife; second, the disappointed expectation of the Christ's return; third, the rise of the Catholic Church.

Perhaps Paul's great opponent, James, had already sealed his faith with his blood before the apostle of the gentiles himself. His death, it is believed, was compassed by the violence of the high priest Ananias; for the governor Festus died after holding office but a short time, and his successor, Albīnus, did not arrive at once, whereupon the high priest seized the opportunity of condemning certain persons at Jerusalem to be stoned, one of whom may have been James (63 A.D.). Another tradition, preserved by the oldest Church historian,[1] declares that James "the just" had been brought to the roof of the Temple in order to deny the Crucified before the people; but that instead of doing so he bore mighty witness to his faith in him, upon which he was hurled down to be stoned to death; and while he was still praying for his murderers was dispatched by a certain fuller (69 A.D.).

Concerning Peter and John we have nothing but uncertain and untrustworthy traditions. Peter is said to have founded the communities at Corinth and Rome (!), and even

[1] See p. 246.

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to have been bishop in the latter place for five-and-twenty years (!), and to have met a martyr's death there. John is said to have taken up his abode in Asia Minor, especially at Ephesus, there to have composed the Gospel, the three letters, and the Apocalypse (Revelation), which bear his name, to have outlived the persecution of the emperor Domitian (between 81 A.D. and 96 A.D.), and to have died, or at least fallen asleep,[1] at an extremely advanced age. All this rests upon loose foundations or upon none at all, and is partly contradicted by the oldest accounts. All the Apostles disappear without a trace.

But though the heads of the primitive community and all the first generation of Jewish-Christians had left the stage, together with the apostle of the heathens, yet their followers, who generally adopted their names, and are therefore personally unknown to us, continued the strife. Still keeping within the limits of New Testament literature, we pass over the spiteful stories preserved elsewhere which were circulated against Paul, together with the elaborate fiction of a sustained personal conflict between him and Peter, who is said to have followed him to Rome and overcome him there.[2] Nor shall we dwell on the unfavourable attitude adopted towards Paul by renowned and influential Christian writers of the second century. But we have already given several examples of hostile utterances preserved in the Gospels and Acts,[3] and will now consider two productions emanating respectively from the extreme and the moderate Jewish-Christian schools, the Revelation (or Apocalypse), namely, and the Epistle of James.

In the Revelation we have the thoughts of a Jewish-Christian of Asia Minor, who may very well have been one of Paul's Ephesian opponents. This extraordinary work, to

[1] See chapter xiii. [2] Compare p. 341.
[3] See pp. 296 ff., 340; Vol. V., pp. 393, 394.

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which we shall presently return, was composed some four-and-a-half years after Paul's death, and contains a description of the immediate future and of the kingdom of God, addressed to the seven communities of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergămus, Thyatīra, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicēa. The position taken by the author is highly noteworthy, especially as he represents a powerful section of the believers. Though he lays chief stress upon the moral requirements of the Law, and does not expressly maintain circumcision or sacrifice, he nevertheless remains a thorough Jew. In spite of the imposing titles which he lavishes upon Jesus, who is soon to return to earth, he still makes him essentially the Jewish Messiah, Jerusalem is still the centre of the kingdom of God, the Messianic salvation is still the heritage of the believing Israel, to be shared by the believing gentiles only on condition of their incorporation with Israel, and even then only on the inferior footing of proselytes. Rome, who oppresses Israel, who sheds the blood of the believers in Jesus, our author regards as the seat of Satan's empire. Everything gentile, and all that indicates the least tendency or inclination towards gentile practices, he holds an abomination; the Jewish regulations as to food and cleanliness he regards as still binding. As a matter of course he exalts the Twelve to the utmost, and most emphatically denies the title of apostle to Paul and his fellow-labourers (none of whom he mentions by name, however). He brands with infamy Paul's precept to obey the heathen magistracy as God's servant, and in general launches into the most violent attacks upon his doctrine and his followers.

We notice all this more especially in the introduction, which consists of seven letters addressed by the glorified Christ to the seven communities above named, and from which we gather what was their internal condition at the time. We notice at once that in the ten years since Paul's

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labours in this region had closed, orthodoxy had made rapid strides and had won over many of his converts. This was especially true of Ephesus itself, where the community is commended by our author for rejecting and hating the false apostles and their followers. But we also learn that this same brotherhood had greatly fallen off in love, in moral purity and in Christian zeal. So, too, Laodicēa and Sardis are reproached as unendurably lukewarm and dead-alive. Pergămus and Thyatīra on the other hand are severely rebuked because many of the brethren in these places zealously upheld and practised Pauline principles, but the author admits that this detestable laxity was combined with steadfast faith and warm love. So, too, he praises and encourages the little community of Philadelphia and that of Smyrna for their perseverance.

If we ask what it was in the Pauline doctrines that especially shocked him, we find that he loathed them as teaching the believers to eat meat offered to idols and to practise inchastity. As to the first point, we may remember that Paul declared the practice in question a matter of no consequence and quite permissible as long as it was not allowed to tempt the weaker brethren into sin. The second reproach is aimed at marriages forbidden by the Jewish law, especially marriages with heathens. Paul on his side had expressly forbidden the Christian husband or wife to seek a divorce from a heathen consort.[1] In a word, Paulinism, which was very likely driven to one-sided exaggerations at this time by some of the zealous preachers of enlightenment, was regarded by our author as contamination with heathenism, and he therefore denounces it as the doctrine of Balaam, or of the "Nicolaïtans" (*i.e.*, destroyers of the people of the Lord), or as the seduction of Jezebel.[2] Nay! if the Pauline Christians

[1] 1 Corinthians vii. 12 ff.; see pp. 258—261, 317; Vol. IV., pp. 188, 189, 219. [2] See Vol. III., pp. 273, 147, 177.

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averred, with their apostle, that they knew "the depths of the Deity" in the counsel for the world's redemption, our writer cried in answer: "They are the depths of Satan!"[1] It could hardly go further than this!

Far different is the spirit of a certain letter written some twenty years or more after the fall of Jerusalem in the name of James, the head of the primitive community. It was addressed by a believing Grecian Jew to "Israel in the dispersion" (*i.e.*, to the Jewish-Christians out of Palestine), and was probably sent to Alexandria. In this letter Paulinism is combated with much greater calmness, but with equal directness; and perhaps this little work is better calculated than anything else to lessen or remove the prejudice with which we involuntarily regard the opponents of the apostle of the gentiles.[2] For here we see a truly earnest, gifted, and noble nature entering the lists against Paul on behalf of what seemed to be threatened morality. The writer's purpose is partly to encourage the community to which he writes under its sufferings, by pointing it to the hope that God will soon appear and establish His kingdom, but yet more to correct its worldliness and contentiousness. The believers were for ever disputing about religious problems. Perhaps one or more Pauline Christians had recently come over and introduced the brethren to their doctrines and to some of their master's epistles, and, while rejected by the majority, were not without determined supporters. Upon this our author, a moderate man, averse to all contention, comes forward. Regarding all external precepts and ceremonial laws as having lapsed, and the distinction between Jew and gentile as having fallen with them, he insists with the utmost rigour upon the moral precepts of the Law, and makes a powerful attack upon Paul's central doctrine of justification

[1] Revelation ii. 24; compare 1 Corinthians ii. 10.

[2] See pp. 247, 248.

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by faith alone. He knew very well whom he was attacking, for he illustrates the doctrine in question by expressions and examples borrowed from the epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews, but nevertheless he declares that anyone who preaches this doctrine is a mere trifler, for unless faith is supplemented by works it is dead.—The fact is that he was far from having reached any such profound conception of the nature of faith as Paul entertained, nor had he really recognised the new principle of life in Christianity. Indeed Paul's profundity of thought and intensity of emotional life brought him to a position too high for our author and the great majority of the believers to comprehend or attain to. The writer of this epistle was eminently practical, and he still felt the need of *law*. Christianity itself was to him a law to guide and control our lives. He therefore still held by the Jewish-Christian principle.

Here we may give the epistle of Jude a passing notice, for it too is of Jewish-Christian origin. It gives itself out as written by the brother of James (and Jesus), but is really of much later date. It is quite a short production, and seems to be directed against a degenerate and one-sided form of Paulinism which pushed an exaggerated Christian freedom into the region of licence. A host of sins are laid to the charge of its advocates, and divine judgment, illustrated by examples from the Old Testament and a quotation from the apocryphal book of Enoch, is denounced against them. The readers of the letter are urged to reflect upon the former warnings of the Apostles, and so to beware of false teachers, and to rescue their victims from them.

But now let us review some of the writings that issued from the other side in support of Paulinism. One of these, the epistle to the Hebrews, we just now referred to. We have already seen from scattered traces in the Gospels that the apostle of the gentiles was by no means without warm sup-

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porters, who were zealous in defending his person and his principles.[1] Now the epistle to the Hebrews is a treatise which seems to have been written after the destruction of the Temple, but before the epistle of James, and was addressed to Jewish-Christians who were in danger of being drawn back into Judaism by their excessive veneration for the Mosaic ritual. The author was evidently versed in the Alexandrian philosophy,[2] and this has given rise to the idea that he may have been Apollos. His conception of the economy of things is highly characteristic. To him the Jewish religion is nothing but a faint copy or shadow of the dispensation and the blessings of salvation, which have existed from eternity with God, and are now imparted to or realised in Christianity, or rather will be when Jesus returns and perfects the kingdom of God. Herewith of course the shadow or copy loses all right of existence. All the ritual and all the history of the Old Testament served simply as types to announce and foreshadow the new dispensation. Christ is typified by the high priest; his work, by the sacrifice of atonement for the people; the Christian life of faith, by the priesthood; the fruits of faith, by the sacrifices; the blessedness to come, by the rest of the sabbath; the Christian community, by the people of God; the salvation held out to them, by access to the holy of holies; and entrance into the heavenly Jerusalem, by the inheritance of the Holy Land. Thus the Levitical priesthood, the sacrificial ordinances, and all the types and foreshadowings together, are now annulled. Christianity takes its own stand, not only in independence of Judaism, but in infinite exaltation above it.

The epistle to the Colossians is similar in tone. It may be partially founded upon some writing of Paul's, but as it stands it was certainly drawn up some years after his death.

[1] See pp. 242, 243, 296 ff.; Vol. V., pp. 396 ff.

[2] See Vol. V., pp. 9, 36, 122.

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It is directed against certain doctrines which were spreading amongst the gentile-Christian communities in Phrygia. The school from which they emanated united the abstinence of the Essenes to extravagant speculations as to the Godhead and the spirit world, and was thus related at once to the severest Jewish-Christianity and to later forms of Oriental heresy. The author of Colossians, like the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, is at once a disciple of Paul and of the Alexandrian philosophy, and he teaches that the truth and the salvation which always existed with God have been imparted to us in Christ. In him the fulness of the deity is revealed, and in him the absolute redemption, the atonement that embraces all the universe, is accomplished. Christianity is the perfect religion, and gives perfect satisfaction to every want.

By and by, when we come to speak of the Catholic Church, we shall refer to a few more of the literary productions of the liberal party; but we have already traced the main lines at least of the attack and defence of Paulinism, and shall therefore go on at once to open another page of the early history of post-apostolic Christianity.

The points we have just touched upon make it all the more necessary for us to bear in mind that Jesus, the Apostles, and in a certain sense even Paul, never intended to found a new religion. Their purpose was to enrol the citizens of the kingdom of God, and thus prepare for and hasten the dawn of the golden age. We have seen how Jesus adopted the expectation of Israel, how he purified it from the blots that disfigured it, and how he himself undertook the chief burden of realising it. When he died, the hopes of his disciples, who had greeted him as the Messiah, were for the moment dashed to the ground, but they soon revived, in connection with the belief in his resurrection. Whatever differences there may

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have been between the Twelve and Paul, they were completely at one in the hope that the glorified Master would soon return from his temporary abode and would bring the kingdom of God to earth. This hope was the main-spring of their work, the secret of their energy and perseverance, nay, it was their very life! This hope was the substance of the preaching of Christ amongst all parties alike; it was the great motive to repentance in Jew and gentile; it was the entrancing prospect held out to all the faithful. Maranatha (the Lord comes)! bursts as a cry of triumph from every page of the Apostolic literature.[1]

We have already heard from Paul himself some of the details of the glorious future as he conceived it. From his doctrine that the flesh was the origin and seat of sin, it followed that it must be annihilated in the kingdom of God. In a moment of time, when the trumpet sounded for the judgment of the world and the resurrection of the dead in immortality, the living would be overspread with a spiritual frame like that of the Christ, preserved for them in heaven till then, which would supersede and utterly destroy their earthly body. This was the full redemption! Then would the sons of God be glorified indeed, and finally nature herself would be freed from the curse that pressed upon her because of the sin of man, and would be likewise glorified. For after the resurrection all rebellious powers would be subdued and death itself destroyed, and then the Christ would give up the kingdom to the Father, that God might be all in all men.[2]

We have also seen that at the close of his life the apostle sometimes thought of the possibility of his dying before this

[1] See pp. 283, 317, 322, 327, 328, 369, also 157, 158, 163, 172, 173, 177, 180, 275, 278, 279, 280, &c.

[2] Romans viii. 18 ff.; 1 Corinthians xv. 23—28, 50—54; 2 Corinthians v. 1 ff.; Philippians iii. 20, 21, &c.

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time should come. Now since he as a martyr would not have to descend into the shadow-land, this thought brought no perplexity to him personally; but it is only natural that in the course of time many of the faithful should have grown impatient or downcast when the Christ did not return. An indication of this may be found in the so-called second epistle to the Thessalonians, which oddly enough attempts to establish its own authenticity by warning its readers against forged epistles![1] This letter begins by describing how the Christ will come as judge, with glorious rewards and fearful chastisements; but its special design is to relieve the strain of expectancy, and to point out by all manner of mysterious hints the reason of the delay. Wickedness must first reach its culmination, and the grewsome foe must come who will put himself in the place of God and do miracles in the power of Satan. But as yet he is held back, and hence this delay. So the believers must wait in quiet trust.

We shall presently meet with this foe or Antichrist again. Meanwhile we may observe, in explanation of what is yet to come no less than what we have just noted, that there were other causes besides natural impatience which helped to plunge the Christians into all manner of speculations as to the future. They may be found in the special circumstances of the times, which are referred to in the vague hints just quoted. The hideous reign of Nero with his fearful persecution of the believers, the strained position of affairs after his death, the insurrection of the Jewish people, and much more besides, combined to inflame the imagination with visions of the speedy end of the world. We have still two writings in the New Testament which date from this period. Both of them belong to the *apocalyptic* literature; that is to say they profess to lift the veil from the future, they imitate the prophetic writings (especially the

[1] 2 Thessalonians ii. 2.

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visions) in form, and in substance contain a forecast of the immediate future, based on the application of ancient oracles to the circumstances of the day, and painted in glowing colours.[1] One of these two writings is the fugitive piece incorporated, with some modifications, amongst the latest utterances of Jesus, in the first three Gospels. It declares that after terrible wars, famine, pestilence, and earthquake, with a universal persecution of the Christians and finally one special event of unutterable horror, the Christ will come again in great glory amidst terrific signs in heaven.[2] There is an obvious reference to the Jewish war in all this. The Christians are told to flee to the mountain-land. But whether the original work really hinted at the fall of the people, of the city, and of the Temple, all which we find predicted and described in the latest additions, it is impossible for us to say.[3] The other apocalyptic work to which we referred is the Revelation, written at the end of 68 A.D., or in January 69 A.D., some months after the death of Nero, and given out under the name of John, or at any rate as the book of his visions, in which the Lord is represented as having revealed to him on the island of Patmos the approaching triumph of God's kingdom over all hostile powers. The Apostle John, however, had in all probability nothing to do with this book. Let us see what it contains.

First, as an introduction, the Christ appears and dictates the seven letters of which we spoke just now. Then the seer looks up into heaven where God sits on the throne of his glory, with the book of the future in his hand, sealed with seven seals. Who is worthy to break them? None but he who was slain like a lamb to found the kingdom of God. Endowed with God's power and wisdom this Lamb takes the

[1] See p. 59; and Vol. IV., pp. 287 ff.

[2] Matthew xxiv. 4 ff.; (Mark xiii. 5 ff.; Luke xvii. 22 ff., xxi. 8 ff.;) see p. 59.

[3] Luke xxi. 20, 24.

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roll, and while heaven rings with a hymn of praise to him he breaks the seven seals one after the other. As the seals are broken, the scenes of the immediate past and the future pass before our eyes. As the first four are broken, the Conqueror (that is the Roman Empire) marches forth upon the earth, followed by War, Famine, and Death, laying all things waste. When the fifth seal is broken, the victims of the persecution of 64 A.D. cry out for vengeance, but they must still be patient for a little while, till the number of the martyrs is complete. When the sixth seal is broken, terrific natural phenomena take place, as awful messengers of the judgment. This is the prelude.

The catastrophe is still delayed for a little while in order that the chosen ones—twelve thousand from each of the tribes of Israel, and a countless multitude from the heathens—may be taken under God's faithful protection against the coming oppression. Then, amid strained expectation, the last seal is opened. The seven archangels come forward with trumpets, and in answer to the prayers of the saints the judgment is proclaimed. As the first five trumpets sound in succession, desolating phenomena of nature take place. When the sixth trumpet sounds, a numerous army advances from the East.—This is the Parthian invasion which was expected.—But those who have not perished amidst all these plagues still remain as godless as ever. A great angel now swears that the judgment is coming without delay. Jerusalem is trodden under foot by the Romans for three years and a half, the Temple alone being spared, during all which time two witnesses of God are preaching as Moses and Elijah. Then they are killed by the Antichrist, but after three-and-a-half days are taken up to heaven; upon which the remnant of Israel is converted.

The seventh angel now blows the trumpet, as a sign that the end is come. A woman (the true Israel) is chased from

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heaven by the dragon Satan, and when her child (the Messiah) has been taken up by God, she escapes to the wilderness (the Christian community retires to Pella, beyond the Jordan, at the siege of Jerusalem). Satan, cast down from heaven, continues his persecutions. He gives his power to a monster with seven heads that rises out of the sea, and is worshipped by all the world (the Roman Empire, with its seven Cæsars from Julius to Galba). One of these seven heads is mortally wounded, but afterwards is healed (Nero, who was supposed not to be really dead, but to have escaped to Parthia, whence he would ere long return). This monster, Nero, whose name is given in figures,[1] is the Antichrist. Another monster who is in his service represents the lying prophets, who enjoin, amongst other abominations, strict obedience to the authorities, even should they be heathen. The Lamb, the Christ, sets himself with his saints against both these monsters on Mount Sion. An angel proclaims the gospel over all the earth; another announces the fall of Rome; a third utters a last warning before the judgment.

Then comes the end! Once more seven visions pass before us. Seven angels advance with the seven vessels of God's wrath, from which none but the chosen are exempt. As they pour them out, one by one, seven plagues burst upon the impenitent world as judgments of God. Meanwhile Nero is hatching his evil plots amongst the Parthians. Rome, the City of the Seven Hills, appears in all her glory as a woman riding upon the monster, Nero, and wages war against the Lamb. The monster and his ten commanders themselves give over the capital of the world to destruction. Its fall is celebrated with triumph in heaven, but bewailed by the heathens on earth. Now the Christ comes to the battle with his war-hosts, vanquishes both the monsters and hurls them into the pool of fire, vanquishes Satan and binds him for

[1] Revelation xiii. 18.

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a thousand years in the abyss. For these thousand years the martyrs and the faithful reign upon earth with the Christ.

After this Satan is released again and brings the barbarians of the North against the community, but is then subdued for ever. Then all the dead rise up and are judged according to their works. A new heaven and a new earth replace the old; and the new Jerusalem descends, more beauteous than tongue can say or heart conceive, the seat of spotless sanctity and undisturbed delight. This is the perfected kingdom of God, whence pain and death and sin are banished; it is the dwelling of God with men, the imperishable state of perfect glory and blessedness.

At the end of his book the seer still repeats the glowing assurance that the time is very near at hand and the Christ is coming speedily. He had repeatedly laid down half a week of years as the limit.[1] Think under what a growing strain of expectation he himself, his friends, and the readers of his book, must have lived from day to day! Was it possible that his reckoning should fail, and the promise and the hope be put to shame?

We know how completely these expectations were disappointed. Jerusalem, where the Temple at least was never to be violated, fell utterly, and the sanctuary was laid low never to rise again. While Rome, instead of being turned to a desert, still held her rank and fame. Nero, the Antichrist, was dead and never returned to life, but neither did the Christ come back to earth. The martyrs were not avenged, but fresh persecutions awaited the faithful. The kingdom of Satan held its own, and the kingdom of God came not.

Words cannot tell the full measure of this disappointment. It was not confined to the author of Revelation, who had imagined he could fix the very moment. It was not confined

[1] See Vol. IV., p. 297.

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to those Jewish-Christians who had gazed with him upon the breathless conflict between their countrymen and the Roman colossus, who like him had conceived it impossible that the only Temple of the true God upon earth should be suffered to fall in ruins, who had been heart and soul with the Jews in their struggle, and had expected to the very last moment a joyous end—perhaps the kingdom of God itself. No! it was not confined to them; for all the Christians alike grew sick at heart when year after year passed by and still saw that promise unfulfilled which had been held before them from the very hour when they first believed, and had ever since been repeated and yet again repeated, as we saw from the epistle to the Hebrews and the epistle of James. And now the pressure of the evil times weighed heavier and heavier upon them, the prospect of deliverance held out to them had failed, the whole generation of the first believers had died out, and he who was surely to have come before that time in all his glory[1] still delayed. Alas! the community, bereft of her Lord and Head, was like a poor widow, the helpless victim of violence and oppression, seeking protection and redress from the ruler of all the earth, and seeking in vain. What was she to do? She could but persevere, with indomitable resolution, in praying, urging, pleading, beseeching, and hoping. Even on earth the most inhuman judge would yield to such persistency!

It was in those days that the following story was put into the mouth of Jesus:[2]

In a certain city there lived a judge who cared for neither God nor man. And there was also a certain widow there who came to him to tell him of her wrongs, and besought him to give her justice and punish her oppressors. For a long time he would not; but still she persevered, and came to him every morning with her appeal. At last he

[1] See for example Matthew xvi. 27, 28. Luke xviii. 1—8.

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thought: Though I do it neither for God's sake nor man's, yet I must redress this widow's wrongs, or she will fall upon me at last in frenzy.—Even the unrighteous would do thus; and shall God refuse to hear his chosen ones who cry to Him day and night? Must they still wait for justice? Nay, surely He will speedily redress their wrongs! But when the Son of man comes, will he find faith on the earth?

We can understand this metaphor, this reiterated assurance, this mournful and doubting question at the end!—Meanwhile it was inevitable that many should grow weary at last of their unanswered prayers and disappointed hopes. And that they really did so is shown in one of the latest of the books of the New Testament, the second epistle of Peter. It is to some extent imitated from the epistle of Jude, and was written sometime after 150 A.D., to confute certain false teachers, who abused their Christian freedom, and at the same time cried in mockery: "What has become of the promise of Christ's return? Our fathers before us hoped for it—and are dead. Everything goes on just the same!"—How does the writer refute them? He declares that the promise is certain, and refers in confirmation to the transfiguration on the mount[1] and to the ancient oracles. The day of judgment will surely come, and the heaven and earth that now are will then be destroyed with fire. But God, to whom a thousand years are as a single day, is long-suffering towards the Christians, for He would not have any perish, but would have them all be converted before the end.

This subterfuge certainly satisfied none who were not already determined to be convinced. But hope is tenacious of life.

We have now glanced at the continued divisions and the disappointed hopes of Apostolic Christianity.

[1] See pp. 190 ff.

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Some means of pacifying both the party spirit and the frustrated anticipations must be hit upon. Faith and hope alike were under a strain they could not bear. The continued existence and the growing strength of the communities, together with the natural tendency of the faithful to enter into united relations with one another, called aloud for the suppression of this conflict of parties, and the necessity was no less pressing for some relief from the constant strain of expectation, and a return to some settled order of life. This twofold want was met by the old Catholic Church, but greatly at the cost of faith and hope alike.

In the middle of the second century and for a long time afterwards we find a numerous party, both in Italy and in the East, claiming with a certain right to represent the genuine followers of Paul, though adding to the apostle's doctrines certain subtle speculations, quite foreign to Christianity, as to the nature of the Deity, revelation, creation, the Old Testament, and the person of Jesus. The head of this sect was Marcion, the fiery opponent of every trace of Judaism or Jewish-Christianity in the community. He and his followers recognised the authority of Paul alone, to the exclusion of that of the Twelve Jewish Apostles; as authentic documents of Christianity they accepted nothing but the gospel of Luke, here and there modified or condensed, and ten Pauline epistles; and they exaggerated the contrast between Law and gospel, between Israelitish and Christian religion, into an absolute contradiction.[1]

At the opposite extreme stood the Ebionites, both at Rome and in Syria and Palestine. They were the real old-fashioned Jewish-Christians, the genuine sons of the primitive community. For themselves they held to circumcision and observance of the Law as conditions of salvation, and for the most part would have forced them upon the heathen

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 27, 28, 386; Vol. VI., p. 299.

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converts also. In their conception of the person of Jesus they remained true to their Jewish point of view. They rejected Paul, or even pursued him with unabated rancour; and their favourite or only Gospel was a version of Matthew slightly differing from ours.

But between these two extremes a third party had formed itself. It rose out of the other two by a gradual compromise, till at last it stood in a position of antagonism to both. It was already the most powerful of them all, and presently it branded the irreconcilables of both the extreme schools as heretics, and shut them out of Christian communion. Everything combined to secure its triumph. We have already seen[1] that the Jewish-Christians were early compelled to reduce their demands on the converted heathens very considerably. As the relative numbers of the gentile converts continued to swell and the Jewish-Christians sank into an ever smaller minority it became more and more impossible to compel the former to become Jews. Again, the fall of Jerusalem, the Temple, and the Jewish nation, worked powerfully in the same direction, for it deprived the Jewish-Christians of their chief supports and moorings, destroyed the imposing Jewish ritual, and threw much of the ceremonial law into disuse. Hence the expectation of the kingdom of God spontaneously dropped its characteristic Jewish tone, Christianity rose to complete independence, and was definitely separated from Judaism. Again, the death of Paul had put an end to his personal defence of his own character and position. Thenceforth the authority of the Twelve, especially of the three "pillars," could hardly be contested. And besides, the majority of the followers of Paul had never really understood the depth of their apostle's gospel, and as a rule the real difference of principle between him and the Twelve had escaped them. All this will enable us to understand that

[1] See p. 314.

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they too came strongly under the influence of that conciliatory spirit which had dictated the epistle to the Romans and the journey to Jerusalem in the case of Paul himself. Under these influences they surrendered many points of essential importance, and indeed were ready to restore and maintain the unity of the Christian community at any price.

So now the sharp corners of Paulinism and Jewish Christianity alike were rubbed off. The observance of some few legal precepts was enjoined upon the gentile converts;[1] and though these ordinances were reduced within the narrowest limits, yet they involved the sacrifice of the great principle of justification by faith alone, independently of all religious observances, and in this sense were as decisive as if they had been more numerous. Circumcision was given up, but baptism took its place as a compulsory form, indispensable to salvation, and was declared to have been instituted by Jesus himself.[2] Christianity itself was conceived, described, and applied as a new *Law*. The Master was declared to have entrusted the conversion of the heathen to the Twelve, and more especially to Peter;[3] and thus when Paul had been robbed of his real merit, his person, which was still regarded with animosity in many quarters, might be quietly dropped into the background; for now that the Twelve were regarded as the direct patrons of the heathen converts, the position of the latter in the Christian community in no way depended upon Paul, and it became equally superfluous to assert his equality or his subordination to the Jewish Apostles. At the same time reverence was paid to the principle of official qualifications and external authority, for the extension of the gospel to the heathens was regarded as resting upon the commission of the Master himself, as its only valid ground, instead of being due to the individual conception of one who

[1] See p. 261. [2] See pp. 150, 151.
[3] See pp. 149, 150, 257 ff.; and Vol. V., p. 375.

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came after him. This is characteristic of the direction taken henceforth by Christianity.

As illustrating this movement of conciliation, let us glance at the first epistle of Peter and the epistle to the Ephesians, two documents of great moral and religious as well as literary worth, dating from the end of the first or the early years of the second century. The book of Acts, of somewhat later origin, is also interesting from the same point of view. The first of Peter is designed to encourage the Christians under suffering and oppression, and exhort them steadfastly to practise and confess the gospel; but its conciliatory purpose is also very obvious. It professes to have been written by Peter, and entrusted by him to Paul's fellow-worker, Silas (whom it highly commends), in order that he might deliver it to the Pauline communities in Asia Minor, to reassure them as to the genuineness of the Christianity they professed. Though the writer makes free use of the epistle of James, he is equally indebted to the epistle to the Romans, and he imitates the style of Paul. Paul's doctrine also reappears in its main features in this letter, though the writer does not grasp its full depth and scope; and the Pauline motto that gave so much offence—"justification by faith alone!"—is studiously avoided. Finally, the union of all Christians is repeatedly insisted on.

Nowhere in the New Testament is the effort to secure unity so obvious as in the epistle to the Ephesians, a document of no less value than the first of Peter. Here a Pauline Christian exhorts the gentile believers above all things to be tolerant, and to preserve unity, in the bond of peace, which is the fruit of the Spirit. "There is one body, and one Spirit; one hope to which all are called; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all."[1] Nay, the unity of all the believers, whether Jews or gentiles, is the essence

[1] Ephesians iv. 4—6.

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of God's eternal scheme of salvation, the final goal of the Christ's work. Then let party spirit utterly disappear, "all must attain to the unity of faith and the knowledge of God's Son."[1] The community is united to the Christ as a woman to her husband; it makes one single body, of which Christ is the head and the soul; it is a temple of God, of which Christ is the corner stone, the Apostles and Christian prophets the foundation, the Jewish and gentile believers the well-set stones.

Finally, we have already seen how the author of Acts wrote his work with the same desire to secure peace and unity, how he completely disguised the former dissensions, how he made Peter almost a Pauline and Paul altogether a Jewish-Christian, and how he obliterated all the most striking characteristics from Paul's gospel.[2] But we must not be too severe upon the author of Acts personally. It is true that in spite of his reverence for Paul he not only sacrificed his principles, but even maimed or falsified his history; but he really scarcely knew what he was doing.—Paul's real gospel had become almost unintelligible to him, the historical tradition was often very turbid even when it reached him; the conditions of his own times he assumed to have existed in the apostle's, and when he knew better—well, well, for all that, these Ebionites and Marcionites could not and should not be justified by history! In a word, the preconceptions of those amongst whom he lived were so ingrained in him that he saw everything through a coloured glass.

His book was probably composed at Rome, which was the natural stage for the reconciliation, or rather confusion, of the two parties. After the fall of Jerusalem the centre of Christianity naturally gravitated towards Rome, and Nero's persecution, by conspicuously decking the Roman community with the crown of martyrdom, worked powerfully in the same

[1] Ephesians iv. 13. [2] See for instance pp. 259, 338, 339.

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direction. The independent rise, without any special founder, of the original community at Rome, before Paul or any other party leader had arrived there, likewise favoured conciliation. Moreover the capital of the world, towards which every movement converged and in which they all mingled, was in itself the most natural place for the Christian faith to find its own internal level in, so to speak, and set aside the dissensions of its factions. It is significant that a legend without the smallest historical foundation should have risen at a tolerably early period to the effect that Peter was bishop of Rome for a quarter of a century, that he and Paul preached there side by side, and perished as martyrs on the selfsame day. It is curious to note here as elsewhere that in these compromises and reconciliations Paul is always losing and Peter gaining ground, till at last the supremacy of the latter is undisputed, Paul is rather tolerated at his side than made the partner of his honours, and finally stands in need of his special recommendation.[1]

In Rome a conspicuous part was also played in meeting the other demand to which we have referred. The disappointment which had waited on the glorious expectations of primitive Christianity must be concealed and forgotten. The Christians began gradually to accept the facts, and the strain of expectation was relaxed. They reconciled themselves as best they could with the present world and the established order of things from which they had at first held sternly aloof, in an attitude of extreme hostility, in the belief that all was to perish speedily. As Christianity spread, it betrayed a growing desire to seize and exercise something more than a spiritual power over the world, and as a kind of compensation for the kingdom of heaven, which never came, to establish a more familiar power, in fact a kingdom of this world. The community, which had hitherto had an altogether

[1] 2 Peter iii. 15, 16.

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provisional existence, now began to establish itself on a permanent basis. In a word, it became a *Church*, that is to say it regarded itself henceforth as a divinely-instituted vehicle of salvation, beyond the communion of which none could hope to be saved, which would triumph over every hostile power, however sorely beset, and would endure for ever.—All this Jesus himself was said to have declared![1] Henceforth this "Church" took the place of the kingdom of God. When the supernatural renovation of all things failed, the Christians instead of redoubling their spiritual efforts, returning to the primitive conception of Jesus, and trying to realise the moral ideal of the kingdom of God in this world,[2] let the ideal go and embraced in its stead the wretched imperfections of the reality. Of course they could not simply ignore this expectation of the glorious return of Jesus to the judgment, for it runs through every page of the Apostolic literature; but they relegated it to such a distant future that it amounted to much the same as abandoning it. Meanwhile they taught that each one as he died would at once receive his provisional sentence and recompense. So complete was the change that ere long the preaching of the return of Jesus, which had once been the delight and strength of all the believers, had become the source of uneasy dread!

At the same time we are bound to admit that the establishment of the Church was really called for, in as far as it was needed to resist and crush those extravagances which have always attended the spread of every strong religious movement, and from which Christianity itself was by no means exempt. In the East especially a host of sects arose who brought the wildest speculations, often of heathen origin, into some kind of connection with the gospel or the person of Jesus, and commonly united them either with exaggerated self-

[1] See Vol. V., p. 408.

[2] See Vol. V., pp. 193, 194, 406, 428, 429, 444 ff.

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discipline or with unrestrained licentiousness. The Church set her face against these sects, and proclaimed herself to be endowed with superhuman authority, and to be in the possession of the pure doctrine and the genuine commandments of Jesus. She had received them through Peter and the other Apostles, to whom Jesus himself had expressly entrusted this authority![1] She declared herself to represent the union of all true believers in all the earth, of one heart and mind, wherever they might be, who might safely trust in all their trials in the protecting nearness of the Christ and the gracious favour of God;[2] and so she called herself, in opposition to these heretics, the *Catholic*, or common, all-embracing, Church.

And now that Christianity had set foot on this new path it would tread it to the end. The first necessity was to regulate worship. Baptism and the Lord's Supper—both of them regarded as institutions of Jesus himself, and both of them acquiring by degrees the character of mysteries—formed the centre of the new system. The observance of the first day of the week, as the day on which Jesus rose from the dead, took the place of the Jewish sabbath, for although the Christians gradually framed their institutions more and more upon the model of the Jewish priesthood and temple, yet they made a point of breaking completely loose from Judaism itself, and, for instance, would not celebrate Easter on the day of the Jewish Passover. There was a fierce conflict on this point, however, before it was decided.

Church government and church discipline now make their appearance. The main lines of the latter were, after the custom we have illustrated so often, embodied in a precept laid upon the lips of Jesus himself: "If a brother has sinned, go and reprove him privately yourself. If he

[1] See Vol. V., p. 408; Matthew xviii. 18.
[2] Matthew xviii. 19, 20.

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listens to you, you have saved your brother. But if not, take one or two witnesses with you, according to the Law.[1] If he will not listen to them, bring the matter before the Church; but if he is obstinate even then, let him be as a heathen and a publican to you"[2]—that is, let him be laid under the ban of the Church. How far had the Christians strayed from the spirit of him who expressly sought out the publicans! We may call to mind, in passing, how Paul demanded the enforcement of church discipline at Corinth.[3] This ecclesiastical ban, or curse, was destined to become a fearful weapon in the hands of the priesthood!

The authority of the Apostles offered a basis for the regulation of church government. Overseers or elders were early appointed in imitation of the practice of the synagogues.[4] Deacons and deaconesses superintended works of love for the poor and the sick;[5] and these together with other officers were duly regulated and the qualifications for holding them defined. Most interesting contributions to our knowledge of this subject are furnished by the three so-called Pastoral Epistles, drawn up in the name of Paul. They are 2 Timothy, Titus, and 1 Timothy, and are chiefly concerned with questions of heresy and of church government. Here we find it laid down, for instance, that a man is not fit to hold office in the church if he has married a second wife—the first step towards the doctrine that the clergy should not marry at all. The purpose of these letters is to regulate church life, to draw the bonds of communion closer, and to uphold sound doctrine against false teachers. The office of overseer, or bishop, is especially exalted in the latest of the three (1 Timothy). The bishop is to be ordained by the associated elders, with

[1] Deuteronomy xix. 15 [2] Matthew xviii. 15—17.
[3] See pp. 311, 320—322.
[4] See Vol. V., pp. 178, 253; and Vol. VI., pp. 202, 203, 232, 239, 257, 258. [5] See pp. 281, 369.

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the laying on of hands; he must be specially zealous in defending the purity of doctrine, and must see that others are so too, but he has also to undertake the general superintendence and discipline of the community, especially of the widows, or female officers of the church; and his authority extends to the elders themselves.

Thus, to preserve the unity of the church and to ward off heresy, the bishops were gradually distinguished from the elders, and clothed with a special authority; their nomination in due form was regarded as an appointment by the Holy Spirit to watch over the flock;[1] they were consolidated into a spiritual order, distinguished from the laity or ordinary believers; and gradually a single head was placed in authority, first over a community, then over a province, then over a whole country. Thus we may trace a more and more distinct attempt to concentrate the governing power in a class, in an assembly, and finally in a single man. In the West that man was the bishop of Rome. So the Church was more and more completely modelled after the type of the Roman empire.

Thus the Catholic Church rose up against the heretics. To some of these latter we have already referred,[2] and here we need only mention further a sect of believers who drew a sharp distinction between *Jesus* and *Christ*. They believed that the Christ was a supernatural being who had been united with Jesus, an ordinary man, at the moment of his baptism in the Jordan, and had afterwards departed from him at the time of his suffering and death. This doctrine would have wrenched Christianity away from its historical foundations, and would have destroyed the meaning alike of Christ's example and of his death upon the cross. We mention this sect because the three so-called epistles of John are directed against it; and in defiance of the original

[1] See p. 333; and 1 Peter v. 1—4.

[2] See pp. 383, 392.

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meaning of the term, they stigmatise it as the Antichrist. None of these three letters profess to be the work of John themselves. The first of them is not really a letter at all, but an exceedingly beautiful treatise on Christian fellowship or unity of faith, based upon moral purity and manifested in works of brotherly love. The second and third letters are addressed, by an anonymous elder, respectively to an unknown woman or community, and to a certain equally unknown Gaius, and they contain warnings against the heresy of which we have just spoken and against one Diotrephes. They are thoroughly impregnated with the Catholic spirit.

In conclusion, it could not be long before the Church must feel the want of a list of Apostolic or Sacred Writings, officially drawn up and established, to be placed side by side with the Old Testament, as a "rule of faith" or Canon. We have already treated of the origin of all the writings ultimately included in this list, with the single exception to be dealt with in the next chapter, and we have seen that most of them were simply intended to serve some special or temporary purpose.[1] With regard to twenty of them, agreement was soon reached; but, as to the rest, great diversity of opinion long prevailed. Some received into their canon a letter bearing the name of Barnabas and an epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, together with other products of the early Christian literature; others, on the contrary, rejected Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 2 John, 3 John, Jude, and Revelation, or if not all at least some of these books. It was not till the fourth and fifth centuries that the matter was finally decided.

But this lies far beyond our field. We have seen the Catholic Church wipe out both the dissensions and the dis-

[1] See pp. 282, 283, 292; chapters ix., xii., and Vol. V., pp. 28—42; see also chapter xiii. of this volume.

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appointment of the primitive Christians, but greatly to the cost of faith and hope alike. How unlike is this Church to the kingdom of God, which Jesus came to found! And yet its spread, its triumph, and its supremacy are the objects for which all the religious forces of Christianity are henceforth claimed!

But with this melancholy result we are not forced to conclude. Another attempt was made to solve the difficulties and remove the dissensions of Christianity. There were some who would not yield to the sad and imperfect reality and loose themselves in it, as the Church had done, but rather sought a refuge in higher flights of philosophy and greater moral elevation, whereby they were enabled still to preach an ideal that was exalted beyond the reach of all opposition and all disappointment. In the Canon itself there was room found for the witness of faith concerning the Christ of "the disciple whom Jesus loved."

Chapter XIII.

THE DISCIPLE WHOM JESUS LOVED.

Gospel according to John.

WHEN we look into the Fourth Gospel we soon observe that the last chapter did not originally belong to it, but was added later. At the close of the previous chapter the work itself has come to a beautiful and appropriate close, after which we expect nothing more.[1] Nevertheless, when we examine this supplement carefully we find that it is not out of place, for it serves to throw light upon the meaning of the Gospel, or rather upon the person of "the disciple whom Jesus loved" on whose authority the Gospel is supposed to rest. Let us hear what it says.

[1] See p. 436.

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It was during the days when the Lord, having risen from the realm of shades, still appeared from time to time to his friends on earth. Peter, with Thomas, Nathanael of Cana, the two sons of Zebedee, and two others, had gone out to fish. The whole night long they had swept the Galilæan sea without taking anything, when just at break of day they saw a stranger standing on the shore who asked them what success they had had. They told him none; and on this he confidently urged them to cast the net on the right. They obeyed, and immediately found the net so full that they could not draw it up. Then the disciple whom Jesus loved knew that it was He, and told Peter; whereon Peter threw his mantle round him, girded it close, flung himself into the water, and swam to the shore, which was about three hundred feet distant. The rest followed with the boat, dragging the net with the fish in it after them. On the shore they found a fire ready kindled, with some fish broiling on it, and some bread. Jesus told them to bring some of the fish they had taken, whereupon Peter dragged up the net upon the land, and, though there were a hundred and fifty-three great fishes in it, yet it was not torn. Then they ate together, Jesus acting as the host or head of the family; but they were all too much in awe to question him.

When the meal was over Jesus turned to Peter and said, "Simon, son of Jona, dost thou love me more than these others do?"[1] "Yes, Lord, thou thyself knowest that I love thee dearly," answered Peter. "Pasture my lambs!" replied Jesus. After a time he repeated the question, "Simon, son of Jona, lovest thou me?" and when Peter gave the same unhesitating answer he again laid on him that task of honour, "Feed my sheep!" Yet again, the third time, he said to him, "Simon, son of Jona, dost thou love me dearly?" upon which the Apostle, tortured by the

[1] Compare p. 82.

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threefold question which referred so clearly to his own threefold denial, cried out, "Lord, since thou knowest all things, thou knowest this also, that I love thee dearly." Then Jesus answered, "Pasture my sheep!" and, telling Peter how he would be led as a captive in old age to the place of his execution, urged him to follow his Master to the very death. Now when Peter looked round he saw that the disciple whom Jesus loved was also following. So he asked, "And what is he to do?" to which Jesus answered, "If I would have him abide till I come again, what is that to thee? Only see to it that *thou* follow me!"

Hence rose a belief amongst the Christians that this disciple would not die. But Jesus had not said this, nor meant it. Now this was the disciple who bore his witness in this Gospel, and we may rest upon it with perfect trust.—

This appendix is a symbolical presentation of certain passages of old Church history, according to the conception of the past and future entertained by the writer. To construct the picture he makes free use of a scene which he found described in Luke.[1] The first and fruitless attempts of the fishermen represent the preaching of the gospel to the Jews. The counsel of the Glorified One to adopt another method refers to the preaching to the heathen. So far our author agrees with Luke; but when he emphatically asserts, in opposition to him, that the net was not broken, he means to insist upon the unity and all-embracing communion of the faithful in the Catholic Church. The number of the fishes must refer in some way either to this Church itself or else to the different kinds or races of men to be taken into it. In the conversation with Peter which follows we find the disgraced disciple not only restored to his former rank and honour, but appointed chief shepherd of the flock till he glorifies God by a martyr's death. But what is intended by the beloved

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 163, 164.

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and trusted disciple "remaining," to which the whole scene is so obviously meant to lead up? And who is this disciple?

To begin with, the whole story, including the final saying of Jesus, is of course invented; and the author introduces a supposed misunderstanding of the saying for the express purpose of indicating that the words must really be taken in a spiritual sense. But curiously enough, by pretending that this misunderstanding existed, he really gave it currency. After 200 A.D. it was generally supposed that the "disciple whom Jesus loved" was John, after whom accordingly the Fourth Gospel was named; and the tradition arose that he had never died! Thus, in the works of Augustine (400 A.D.) and later writers, we hear that John, after living in Ephesus to an extreme old age, feeling that his time was drawing near, lay down while yet alive in his grave where the ground still gently heaves in response to his breathing, and where he awaits the return of his Lord and friend. We may well doubt, however, whether John is really meant at all by the "disciple whom Jesus loved." At any rate, the true historical John, that narrow and violent Apostle, one of the two "sons of thunder," one of the three "pillars" of the community of Jerusalem,[1] cannot be intended. We should be more inclined to think of Paul, were it not for the total absence of any reference to the circumstances of his life, and of any citations from his letters either in the "witness" itself borne by the disciple whom Jesus loved or in the references made to his person.[2] No doubt we have really to do with an ideal disciple—if with John, then with a John so changed, enlightened, and purified as to be no longer recognisable; in short, with such a disciple as Jesus never had in his lifetime; one who lived in the closest communion with him,

[1] See pp. 250, 296, and Vol. V., pp. 231, 246.

[2] John xiii. 23, xix. 26, xviii. 15, xx. 2, 3, 8.

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divined his thoughts, profited to the utmost by his intercourse with him; one who thereby earned his unqualified confidence and approval, and now comes forward to bear witness to what he had seen in Jesus and what he had received from him.

Now when we are told that this disciple is to "remain" while Peter is to pass away, the meaning is that the latter, whose supremacy over the Apostolic communities is not disputed, who is readily acknowledged as the highest guide of the Church, is only to retain his authority during his life, whereas the disciple who read into the soul of Jesus will retain his influence till the perfecting of the kingdom of God. Or again, since the name of Peter, as well as that of the other disciple, stands for a principle, we may take the saying of Jesus to mean that the Church of Peter, the Catholic Church, as it began to establish itself towards the middle of the second century, had an indisputable right of existence, but yet only for a time. It must ultimately be superseded by a better state of things, which should endure, by a purer insight on the part of the community, by such an attitude of mind as is indicated in the Fourth Gospel, which must "abide" to the end of the ages. Thus Christianity might completely escape from the conflict of parties, not by concession and compromise, but by rising above both parties alike to a purer insight into the truth; might receive the fullest compensation for the disappointed expectation, not by covering it up and forgetting it, but by securing the actual experience of the Lord's presence in that of the Holy Spirit. Testimony to a faith with such contents and of such purport as this would retain its power unweakened and unabated till the perfect order of things should come.

Let us now take into our hands this testimony of the disciple whom Jesus loved. It is the Fourth Gospel.

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"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was god. By the Word all things were formed, and everything was made what it is. To mankind It was the higher life and the light of truth, but the sinful world rejected It."[1] We cannot fail to be struck by the exalted style of this introduction, but do we understand its meaning?

We must return to a consideration of the Alexandrian philosophy.[2] The central conception of this philosophy hinges upon the contrast between two worlds, a higher and a lower, the former an invisible and imperishable world of the spirit, or of veritably existing ideal types, the latter the visible and perishable world of matter in which we live, an imperfect copy or impression of the other. The higher world was an immediate emanation from the Deity, His perfect revelation, His living type or image, and at the same time the mediator between Him and our lower world. For God himself was conceived of as too exalted to stand in any immediate relations with imperfect or material things such as man and the universe; far less could any human representations or expressions be worthily applied to Him. So these philosophers took up and elaborated the poetical personification of Wisdom which they found in the book of Job, in the Proverbs,[3] and in the apocryphal books of Jesus Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon; but they no longer used the old word *Wisdom* to signify this ideal universe which they now called the *Logos*. This word means both the unuttered conception of *reason* and the uttered conception of *speech*, and is commonly translated by *Word*. Had not the Deity called everything into being by his *word*?[4] Gradually this *word* came to be regarded as a personal being existing by the side of God,

[1] John i. 1—5. [2] See pp. 382, 383.
[3] See Vol. III., pp. 415—417; Vol. IV., pp. 169, 304.
[4] See Vol. I., pp. 42, 49; Vol. II., p. 68.

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not self-existent and original as He, but spiritually put forth by the exalted God out of his own being, and made the partner of his attributes,—a kind of subordinate god in fact. Now these are the speculations which the fourth Evangelist adopts and applies to Jesus. In order adequately to explain and reproduce the impression he had received of Jesus he says: "The Word became flesh"—that is to say Jesus was the Word in the material body of a man—"in him might we see the divine glory, from him might we receive in inexhaustible abundance the treasures of divine grace and truth, unknown before Jesus Christ, unknown even in the Law of Moses. For God is concealed eternally from his creatures, inaccessible and unfathomable to them; but the Word, his own Son, who dwelt with Him in heaven in unbroken and full communion with Him, has come down to earth and revealed Him."[1]

If we look back from the position we have now reached upon the life and work of Jesus, what a marvellous flight we have to note! That life produced a Messianic movement on a very modest scale, which shrank from any noisy self-assertion and was confined to the people of the Jews, nay, even to the land of Galilee, for no sooner had it shown itself in the capital than it was crushed. And yet this obscure movement in the bosom of Judaism, simply because the pure and exalted personality of Jesus was at the centre of it, called into existence the Christian Church, one of the mightiest factors of the world's history. Nor was even this enough. The coming of Jesus was at last regarded as the turning point in the history of the universe, nay, in the history of the Deity Himself! But when we examine all this more closely it need not surprise us. When Jesus was gone, those who had not known him personally insensibly surrounded him with a glory that shone at last with a

[1] John i. 14, 16—18.

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more than human splendour. The spiritual blessings which flowed in ever richer measure from his person and his gospel compelled the Christians to exalt him ever more and more. The title of Son of God which his followers had given him as the future Messiah was elastic and ambiguous enough to lend itself very readily to this process. The idea of his being the Messiah now no longer sufficed, he was something other and something far more than the Jewish Messiah; the philosophy and theology of the day were laid under contribution, and nothing could so well indicate his significance for all humanity and his unapproachable exaltation as the idea that he was the Word, the partner of the divine nature and yet not the Deity himself.

Paul has prepared us for the doctrine of the Logos. In declaring Jesus to be the second Adam, he ascribed to him a pre-existence in heaven as the ideal man, and assigned him a share both in the work of creation and in the history of the world. But the transition from the early Christian conception to that of the Fourth Gospel is most clearly traceable in the Epistles to the Hebrews and the Colossians. For there Jesus Christ is called the reflection of the Deity, and the maker and sustainer of all that exists in heaven and upon earth. This is little short of saying that the eternal Word appeared in bodily shape in the person of Jesus. But in passing to the Fourth Gospel we find not only a great development of these germs that are already present, but also a marked change of fundamental conception. Paul looked upon the earthly life of Jesus as a humiliation, and laid exclusive emphasis upon his death on the cross and his exaltation. The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, regards all the life of Jesus as forming a single whole—one continuous manifestation in word and deed of the Logos and its divine glory. In this life the Deity—not the supreme God indeed, for that was impossible, but His

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express image—had not only dwelt amongst men, but had actually entered into the collective conditions of humanity, assumed its nature, and accepted its historical context. A man was there who could say, "I and the Father are one."[1]

This exalted conception gave occasion to the rise of the doctrine of the Trinity, and in it therefore the Alexandrian philosophy thenceforth dominated the whole doctrinal development of Christianity. And, moreover, it solved the several contradictions that existed within the Apostolic communities. The fourth Evangelist has already passed far beyond the conflict between Judaism and Paulinism. He adopts a very hostile tone towards Judaism, and for him the Jewish religion no longer exists. His Christ and his Christians look upon the "Law of the Jews" and the "Feasts of the Jews" as things with which they have no concern, and hold Jerusalem and Gerizim to be alike superseded as places of worship. The Evangelist's great purpose indeed is to display the spiritual nature of Christianity; and he himself has risen completely above both the material Messianic expectation and the disappointment caused by its failure. The Christian community, in his conception, is far indeed from being defenceless and desolate, bereft of her Lord and Head; for with the coming of his substitute and successor, the Spirit of truth, Christ has in reality returned already to his faithful ones. In this Holy Spirit the Christ himself dwells as it were in the hearts of the faithful, and reveals his presence, his truth, his glory in the free, strong growth of their personal life of faith. If Christ is thus present in the hearts that love him, then his return in the flesh can be thought of no more; if his Church is thus filled with his divine being, then the Kingdom of God is already invisibly present on earth. The chasm between the present age and

[1] John x. 30.

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the age to come, preluded by the last judgment, is filled in; the faithful already possess and enjoy, here and now, the life eternal or the fullest blessedness; the judgment is for ever going on in the sifting of man from man by the word or the spirit of Jesus.

Not that the Evangelist thinks all conflict is over. On the contrary, he perceives it everywhere. God and the devil, God and the world, spirit and matter, spirit and flesh, light and darkness stand over against each other. "The Word was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came to his own people (Israel) and his own people received him not. But as many as received him to them he gave power to become children of God."[1] The world is in a certain sense the kingdom of Satan, but Christ has come to deliver man out of his power and to conquer him. Mankind are therefore severed into two camps, as children of light and children of darkness, children of truth and children of falsehood, children of God and children of the devil. Nay, so sharply is the line drawn between these two that it almost seems as though the latter were of a different nature from the former and had not the power to believe and be saved.—Again, this Evangelist adopts a very special attitude towards the questions of his time, the movements within the Church and the heresy without it; indeed he claims to be the first who had fully comprehended and proclaimed the spirit of Jesus in its full significance and exaltation; so that we almost suspect that the appendix already described may perhaps be from his own hand after all, with the exception of the last verse which is certainly not authentic. In any case, this appendix echoes the conception of the Gospel itself in declaring that Peter must make way for the "disciple whom Jesus loved," and that that disciple must abide.

[1] John i. 10—12.

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The Evangelist's object is not to relate the history of Jesus, but to raise the testimony of faith. Apparently he had access to no trustworthy traditions except those contained in the Synoptic Gospels; but he uses his materials with the utmost freedom, selecting what suits his purpose and remodelling or even inventing whatever he requires. Sometimes he assumes the narratives of the other Evangelists as already known, sometimes he is in flat opposition to them. Sometimes he disguises well known historical personalities, such as John the Baptist, past all recognition, sometimes he invents fictitious ones, such as Nicodemus. But the essential truth of his representation, in a higher than the historical sense, is above all doubt; and he has given us a spiritual Gospel in which, according to his own express indications, the miracles themselves, which far transcend those of the three first Gospels, have also a spiritual significance. Thus he displays to all men the glory of the Word while abiding on the earth; a divine glory which utterly precludes all conception of the Christ having developed after the fashion of a man in knowledge and sanctity, or struggled with the temptation to sin; a glory, on the other hand, which shines as a more than earthly lustre in that struggle against Judaism, ever more and more desperate, and in that free endurance of outward shame in the death upon the cross. This glory the Evangelist himself had seen; from this fulness he had received the highest gifts of grace and the purest insight into the truth; he had rested on the bosom of his Lord; his witness is true, and he himself knows it; for he is the disciple whom Jesus loved.

Let us hear from his lips how he first found Jesus!

There was a certain man, called John, who was sent before by God to bear witness to all men of the Light, and who proclaimed his pre-existence and his lofty rank. Now

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the Jews sent a deputation of certain Pharisaic priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask this John whether he was the Christ, or Elias, or the prophet foretold by Moses; and when he said that he was none of these, but was that preparer of the way of whom Isaiah spoke, then they asked him why he baptised. On this he pointed to the great Unknown, who was on the point of coming forward. The next day he saw Jesus himself approaching, and, with his thoughts fixed on the redeeming power of his death on the cross, he called him the lamb ordained by God, that took away the sins of mankind.[1] Then he told how he himself had learned to know him, having come to baptise with water, as the herald of one whom at first he knew not, but whom he had since found; for He who sent him had said, "Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descend and abide, he it is who baptises with Holy Spirit," and he had seen the Spirit like a dove come down upon Jesus out of heaven and depart from him no more, wherefore he knew for certain and thenceforth bore witness that he was the Son of God.—Upon what occasion it was that John saw this descent of the Spirit we are not told; but there is no mention of Jesus being baptised, for such a thing would not be seemly for the Word made flesh.

Again, on the following day, he saw Jesus passing by, and pointed him out to two of his disciples who were with him, as the lamb given by God. So when these two heard the words of John they went and followed Jesus reverently, and he turned round and asked them what they would. In reply they asked him where was his abode, for if they might they would fain stay that evening with him. "Come and see!" replied Jesus, and they remained with him the rest of the day—through hours never to be forgotten. Now one of these two was Andrew of Bethsaida, and he went first and

[1] See Vol. IV., pp. 110, 111.

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found his brother Simon, to tell him the joyful news, "We have found the Messiah!" Then he brought him to Jesus, who knew him, and penetrated to his very heart as soon as he saw him. "Thou art Simon," he said, "the son of Jona. Thou shalt be called Cephas."

The next day, before he left Peræa, where all this had taken place, to go to Galilee, Jesus found Philip, a fellow-townsman of Andrew and Peter, and he called him to be his follower. Philip, in his turn, went to Nathanael and told him the joyful tidings: "We have found him of whom the lawgiver and the prophets wrote, Jesus the son of Joseph, of Nazareth."—"Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" asked Nathanael, in doubt. But, nevertheless, he went with his friend. When Jesus saw him approaching, he said: "This is indeed an Israelite without guile."—"Whence dost thou know me?" asked Nathanael, in surprise; on which Jesus answered, "Before Philip called you, as you sat under the fig-tree, I saw you," and at this token of superhuman knowledge Nathanael cried enthusiastically, "Rabbi! thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel!" But Jesus promised him other and more glorious proofs of his greatness: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, you shall see heaven opened and God's angels ascending and descending upon the Son of man"—for Jacob's dream of the immediate and uninterrupted communication between heaven and earth should be realised in the person of Jesus.

Again, in later days, John bore witness to Jesus, for he had now returned with his disciples from Galilee to Judæa where he, or rather they, baptised the people. Now John was also baptising not far from the same place, and on a certain occasion his disciples came to him and complained that Jesus was drawing all men to him. But John rebuked their complaint; for he had never given himself out as the Christ, but only as his herald, and now he felt nothing but joy in

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the growing influence of his superior. "He must increase, but I must decrease," he said. The Word made flesh was from heaven, transcended all men, and spoke the words of God. "The Father loves the Son, and has given all things into his power. He who believes in the Son has everlasting life; but he who rejects him loses that life, and remains under the wrath of God."—

Here let us pause for a moment. How completely persons, things, and circumstances are transformed! But throughout our treatment of this Gospel we shall regard it as superfluous to fix attention on the astonishing difference between it and the others, nor should we have stopped at this point except to ask a special question: Who is this Nathanael? He is unknown to us from other sources, and his name never occurs again even in this Gospel, except in the appendix. This is rather strange, for in the description of these first meetings a prominent position is obviously assigned to him; nay, the celebrated declaration of Peter is laid upon his lips, so that he quite overshadows that Apostle.[1] We should certainly have expected to hear more of him. Can he be intended for the disciple whom Jesus loved? Scarcely, for we must probably identify this ideal disciple with the unnamed companion of Andrew, who first came to Jesus in that moment never to be forgotten. Nathanael has been variously identified with Matthew, Matthias, and Bartholomew, but on very inadequate grounds, and there is not the smallest necessity to make him one of the Twelve at all. Can he be intended for Paul? Remember that Paul, though an Israelite without guile, was at first completely dominated by his prejudices, that while he still sat under the barren fig tree of Israel's legal religion he was already singled out by the Lord, and chosen to be an apostle, and lastly that his conversion had been previously brought into

[1] See Vol. V., p. 401.

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connection with the preaching of Philip (the evangelist), in a hostile sense.[1] But after all the question must remain unanswered, and perhaps Nathanael is no historical personage at all, but a free creation of our writer's.

What has the disciple whom Jesus loved to tell us of the glory manifested in word and deed, by the Son of God?

His first sign, performed at Cana in Galilee, was to turn water into wine; for he gave and gives the life of the spirit in the place of lifeless forms.[2] His second mighty deed was of like purport, but more aggressive in its character. It was the cleansing of the Temple at Jerusalem on the day of the Jewish passover.[3] This took place after he had made a short stay with relatives and disciples at Capernaum. When the Jews demanded a miracle from him as a proof of his commission, he answered, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." The Jews understood the answer literally, and indeed throughout this Gospel almost everyone misunderstands Jesus, from a total lack of spiritual perception. Jesus, says the Evangelist, really meant his body by the temple. But we must observe that our author sometimes attaches a double significance to an expression, and that here he means to say that Jesus intended to speak of his own resurrection, and also of the building up of his spiritual body, the community of the faithful, when this Jewish religion had been destroyed by the Jews themselves.

Many of the people of Jerusalem, when they saw his signs, believed in him; but Jesus, who could read the heart, trusted them not. On a certain evening there came a Pharisaic councillor to him, called Nicodemus, and declared his belief in him as a teacher come from God. Jesus said, in response, that no one could enter into the kingdom of

[1] See pp. 57, 214, 340. [2] See Vol. V., pp. 298, 299.
[3] See pp. 12—14.

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God unless he was born from on high, from the Spirit. Nicodemus did not in the least comprehend him, but what Jesus was really speaking of was the necessity for carnal man to receive the higher principle of life from above, the life from God. "God so loved mankind that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whoever had faith in him might be saved from destruction and possess eternal life. For he was not sent into the world to condemn mankind, but to save them. Whoever has faith in him cannot be condemned, but whoever has not faith is condemned already by his disbelief in God's Only-begotten. This is the Messianic judgment: that the Light has come into the world and that men have chosen the darkness rather than the light because their works are evil. Everyone whose work is evil hates the light and flees from it, because it would rebuke his works. But he who deals truly seeks the light that his works may be seen to be done in God."

A counterpart to this interview with the celebrated teacher of Israel is found in a conversation with a Samaritan woman. When the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptised more disciples than John, Jesus went back from Judæa to Galilee. On his way through Samaria he sat down in the heat of the day, wearied, by Jacob's well, near Sychar (Shechem), whilst his disciples went into the city to buy food. Meanwhile there came a woman to draw water. Jesus asked her to let him drink, and this request, as coming from a Jew, astonished her beyond measure.[1] Then he spoke to her of the living water which he could give, by which he meant the divine truth which satisfies all the wants of the soul and becomes an active, indestructible principle of life within. The woman no more understood him than Nicodemus had done. So Jesus said she must go and call her husband, and yet she had no husband. She

[1] See Vol. IV., pp. 150 ff.; Vol. V., pp. 246, 383, 384.

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had had five husbands before, and the one she now had was not her husband.—From this we gather that the woman is a personification of the people of Samaria, which had formerly worshipped five gods and now served the Lord, who was not the real national deity of Samaria but of Israel.—The woman now saw that she was speaking to a prophet, and therefore asked Jesus whether the Samaritans who made Gerizim the true place of worship, or the Jews who made it Jerusalem, were right. He answered that thenceforth it was neither Gerizim nor Jerusalem. The Samaritans indeed were not on a par with the Jews, but the true worship was confined to no place and limited by no external conditions, for it was spiritual, even as God was spirit. Finally he made himself known as the Christ.

Upon this his disciples returned, and whilst the woman was gone to the city, eagerly to recount all that had taken place, they offered him food. But he refused. He was too much absorbed in his life-work to eat anything. This they could not understand, but he declared that his food was to do the will of Him that sent him and to finish His work. He had sowed seed, and behold the harvest time had come already. It was the special task of his disciples to gather in the harvest.[1]—And in truth it appeared in the course of a two days' stay in this city that not a few Samaritans believed in him on the strength of what the woman had said, and many more yet when they heard him themselves. And this was what was needed, not to believe on the authority of another, but to hear and know at first hand that Jesus was in truth the Saviour of mankind.

On the other hand in Galilee, his native place, they only received him because of the signs which the pilgrims of Jerusalem had seen him perform. An officer of Capernaum, whose son was lying on his death-bed, came to him at Cana

[1] See p. 206 ff.

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to implore his aid, and although it grieved Jesus much that anyone should believe in him simply because of his miracles, and not because of the truth he preached, or his own spiritual greatness, nevertheless he spoke the word of might, and at that very moment the boy, though lying in bed at eight leagues distance, was healed.[1]

These scenes are especially intended to show the nature of true faith.

Jesus went about, bringing to mankind deliverance, truth, and life. But everywhere he was met by spiritual incapacity, by worldliness, by hostility, which swelled at last into murderous violence.

Again there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went to Jerusalem. On a sabbath day he came to the bath of Bethesda, that is "House of Compassion," near the Sheep-gate. In the five porticoes of this bath there lay a host of afflicted beings, such as the blind, the maimed, the crippled. Now and then the water was stirred from below, and any-one who leapt into the bath at that moment was healed. Here Jesus found a man who had been disabled for eight and thirty years, and said to him, "Do you wish to be healed?"—"Alas!" he answered in despair, "I have no one to plunge me into the bath when the water bubbles up; and as I creep on some other is before me."—"Arise, take up your bed and walk!" cried Jesus, and the sufferer obeyed and was healed.—In truth he heals the sick, he gives power to the spiritually crippled to rise up and walk upon the path of God's command-ments, if only they are not stubborn but have faith in him.

Now when the Jews came upon the restored sufferer, carrying his bed, they rebuked him for breaking the sabbath. He appealed to the injunction of his benefactor, but at first he could not tell them who it was. Afterwards Jesus met

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 368, 395, 396.

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him in the Temple and exhorted him to sin no more. Then the man directed the Jews to Jesus, upon whom all their rage now turned, because he had desecrated the day of the Lord; but Jesus appealed to his Father, who never paused in his works of beneficence on the day of rest. After this they sought to kill him all the more because he had likened himself to God, as his Father. But Jesus went on, untroubled by their rage, and said that everything he did was after the pattern of his Father's works and in His might; even as his Father so did he too wake life out of death; nay, the Father had appointed him as judge in order that he might receive from all men the same honour as the Father. John, the Father himself, the Scriptures—which the Jews regarded with a reverence that was even excessive—all bore witness to him. In vain! They were still without faith. Their own Law would itself convince and condemn them of unbelief.

When he had returned to Galilee, he fed the multitudes miraculously and thus showed his power of amply providing for the wants of countless hosts with the scantiest means, and when everyone was wholly at a loss.[1] The beholders acknowledged him as the great prophet, and wanted to make him King; but he withdrew to the mountain, and presently, walking in the night over the stormy waves, he rejoined his disciples, who had crossed in the boat to Capernaum.[2] Great was the amazement of the people when they found him there. He rebuked them because it was not for the imperishable bread of the soul that they followed him. He was himself the bread of life that had come down from heaven. Now to the Jews, he was only the son of Joseph, and therefore they did not believe these words; but none the less were they the truth; and all who would possess eternal life must take his spirit and his life, must take him, as it were,

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 189 ff. [2] See Vol. V., pp. 343, 344.

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himself into themselves; and all this is symbolised in the bread and wine eaten at the Lord's Supper. By this discourse many of his disciples, who took everything literally, were repelled, and therefore they forsook him. Then he said to the Twelve: "You will not forsake me likewise?" Upon which Peter exclaimed "Lord! to whom should we go? Thou hast words of eternal life, and we believe and know that thou art the Holy One of God." A glorious confession! But alas! that one of these chosen ones should be a devil. Jesus knew it and said it, for he recognised his betrayer from the first.

Exposed to murderous attacks in Judæa, Jesus remained in Galilee till the Feast of Tabernacles. His brothers, who did not believe in him, urged him to go to Jerusalem, to show himself to all men. He refused, but subsequently went up secretly. The multitude was much divided in disposition towards him; and presently when he taught in the Temple[1] everyone was amazed. No one dared to lay hands upon him, and even the officers of justice sent to seize him returned without doing anything. But the high priests and Pharisees who had sent them were all the more exasperated, and would not so much as listen to Nicodemus, who raised a feeble protest in his favour.

Meanwhile Jesus went on teaching, promised life to whosoever would receive him, proclaimed himself the light of the world, warned the stubborn of death in their sins, and promised his faithful followers the knowledge of the truth and in it the enjoyment of true moral liberty. "He who commits sin is a slave. If the Son make you free, then shall you be free indeed." The Jews were not free, nor were they Abraham's children, for in that case they would do the works of Abraham; rather were they children of the devil, and that was why they would not listen to the teaching of Jesus, but sought

[1] See Vol. V., p. 225.

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to kill him, though he had come forth from God and was exalted above all men, and delivered his own from death for ever.

Yes! he was indeed the light of mankind, as he soon proved. When he left the Temple, to escape being stoned, he passed a man who had been born blind and who sat begging. His disciples asked him whether this punishment had come upon the man for his own sins or for those of his parents. Jesus combated their superstitious idea altogether, and explained that, in the course of his own unwearied labours throughout the whole day of life, this poor sufferer's very infirmity was to become a means of displaying God's redeeming love. Then he made some salve with spittle, anointed the blind man's eyes with it, and ordered him to go and bathe in the pool of Siloam. No sooner had he done so than he gained his sight. His neighbours were filled with amazement, and could not believe their eyes till he told them how it had come about. He was brought before the Pharisees, who renewed their strictures on Jesus for again performing a cure on the sabbath. The man's parents were now summoned; but, since they knew the authorities had determined to lay anyone who acknowledged Jesus as the Christ under the ban of the synagogue, they would commit themselves to nothing beyond the statement that their son was born blind, and would give no opinion as to how he had been healed. On this the man himself was examined again, but, however hard they pressed him, he continued stoutly to maintain that his benefactor was a prophet sent by God, whereupon he was cast out with contumely. When Jesus heard of this, he went and found him, and asked: "Do you believe in the Son of God?"—"Lord! do but tell me who he is, and I am ready," answered he. Then Jesus made himself known and received his homage. Such, then, is the result of his labours: by the light which he makes arise in the moral world the simple and the ignorant have

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their eyes opened to the truth—to the highest good of man; but the learned and the wise reject his guidance, in their self-conceit, and so become blind to the truth, and cast out those that Jesus has delivered!

Jesus is the good shepherd. His sheep, the children of God, listen to his voice, follow him, are saved and are blessed with abundance of all things needful to them. Israel's leaders on the other hand are all thieves and robbers, or at best faithless hirelings, who flee from the beasts of prey and leave the flock to its fate. The good shepherd offers up his life for his flock; and Jesus offers up his life for his own, whether Israelites or heathens, who must all be one flock under one shepherd. And if he offers himself up for them, that same moral force which enables him to surrender his life gives him power also to seize the higher life even out of death.

Again, in the Temple, at the Feast of Lights,[1] after the unbelievers had taunted him in vain, he spoke of his care for the sheep which no power in the world could pluck out of his own or his Father's hand, for he and the Father were one.—For this saying the Jews were ready to stone him as a blasphemer. But Jesus showed them there was no blasphemy in his words, and shielded himself from their violence by retreating into the Transjordanic regions, where many who were mindful of the preaching of John believed in him.

The conflict had now reached such a point that the crisis could not be long delayed. Let us see what brought it about.

At Bethany, on the Mount of Olives, lived a brother and two sisters who were very dear to Jesus. They were Lazarus, Mary who anointed the Lord and wiped his feet with her hair, and Martha.[2] It was from the sisters that Jesus

[1] See Vol. IV., pp. 301, 302.
[2] See pp. 40—43, 64—66; Vol. V., pp. 238, 239, 262—266.

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heard, while still in Perœa, that his friend Lazarus was ill. "This sickness will not result in death, but in the glorifying of God in His Son," said Jesus, and stayed two days where he was. Then he said to his disciples "Let us go to Judæa again!" They were afraid of his being stoned by the Jews, but he told them that if the duration of each one's day of life is unalterably fixed he who treads his path by the daylight of truth has nought to fear. He only who walks in the night of sin need fear. He told them also that Lazarus slept the sleep of death from which he was about to wake him to increase their faith. "Let us go too," said Thomas, "and die with our Master."

When they reached Bethany Lazarus had already been buried four days, and many Jews of Jerusalem had come to condole with the sisters. When Martha heard that Jesus was coming she went and met him outside the village. "O my Lord," she cried, "hadst thou been here my brother would not have died. But, even now, I know that God will grant whatever thou mayest ask Him."—"Your brother shall rise again," answered Jesus.—"Yes, on the last day!" sobbed Martha. But Jesus meant something very different. "I am the resurrection and the life," he went on, "and whosoever believes in me, though he be dead, shall yet live; and whosoever lives and believes in me shall never die. Believest thou this?" Then Martha confessed him to be the Son of God, and went away to call out Mary secretly. Mary rose at once, and her visitors, who thought she was going to the grave, followed her. She threw herself down before Jesus with the same expostulation which her sister had made. When he saw all these mourners Jesus was deeply moved, and asked for the tomb. "Come and see it, Lord," they answered. Jesus wept. "Roll away the stone," he said, when he stood beside the tomb.[1] "Lord! the body

[1] See pp. 134, 135, 152.

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is already decaying," objected Martha; but Jesus rebuked her want of faith, and after thanking God aloud, in order that the bystanders might have faith in his divine mission, he uttered the word of might, "Lazarus, come forth!" And immediately he came forth, with his hands and feet and face swathed in the burial clothes. Jesus ordered them to unwrap the shroud and free him.—This was the culmination of his miraculous power,[1] and shows in a symbol of overwhelming force how, as he said to Martha, he gives eternal life to all who believe in him, how he can make man rise from the death of sin, from a moral corruption that is even far advanced, into that true life which develops ever more and more gloriously and never has an end.

Many of the Jews who witnessed this event believed in him, but others went and told it to the Pharisees, who at once took counsel with the high priests. They knew not what to do. If they let the wonder-worker go his way everyone would believe in him, and then Roman intervention would give things a fatal turn. Caiaphas therefore said, "It is better that one man should die for all than that the nation should perish." Thus did he prophesy, as High Priest for that year, that Jesus would die for the people, nay, for the children of God amongst the heathens also.—From this day forward they sought to seize him and put him to death. But Jesus withdrew into the city of Ephraim.

On Monday, six days before the Passover, he was again at Bethany, where a meal was provided in his honour at which Martha acted as hostess. Lazarus was one of the guests, and Mary showed her gratitude by anointing the feet of Jesus with spikenard. Thereupon Judas, who held the purse and was a thief, reproved her for waste, but Jesus defended her.[2] Many of the Jews came there to see Jesus and

[1] See Vol. V., pp. 367, 368.
[2] See pp. 64, 65, and Vol. V., p. 264.

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Lazarus, and the authorities perceived that decisive measures must be taken. The next day he rode into Jerusalem upon an ass,[1] amidst the acclamations of the pilgrims who hailed him as the King of Israel, and the multitude who greeted him as the raiser of Lazarus. There were certain Greeks in Jerusalem who asked Philip to give them access to Jesus, and Jesus took this as the foreshadowing of the glory that would be his from the faith of the heathen world resulting from his death. Just as the grain of corn must rot in the earth before it can live again in the heavy laden ear, so would his death also yield a rich harvest. Self-seeking is self-slaying, but to lose the life is to preserve it.[2]—Then for a moment Jesus was perturbed in spirit, but a voice from heaven, uttered for the sake of the people, announced that his prayer that God should be glorified was heard. Henceforth Satan was bereft of his power over mankind, and Jesus would draw all men to himself in his exaltation on the cross, his exaltation to God.

On this and the following days he concealed himself because of the stubborn unbelief of the Jews; even those of the chief people who secretly adhered to him dared not openly confess it. Yet, whosoever beheld Jesus beheld Him who sent him; and whosoever rejected him would one day be condemned, not by him, for he had only come to save mankind, but by the words which he had uttered.

On Thursday evening Jesus had lain down to meat with his disciples, for the last time before he should go to the Father.[3] It was not the Pascal meal. The Passover did not begin until the following evening; for he himself who was the true Pascal lamb, and as such made an end of all sacrifices,[4] must be put to death at the very day and hour ordained for the slaughter of the lamb,—not twenty-four hours later as

[1] See pp. 4 ff. [2] See Vol. V., p. 423. [3] See pp. 67 ff.
[4] See 1 Corinthians v. 7, and p. 382.

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the synoptic Gospels say. The betrayal by Judas was already determined by the devil. But the love of Jesus for his friends was now to reach its culmination. He rose from the table, in full consciousness of his absolute supremacy and his divine origin and destiny, laid aside his upper garment, girt himself with a linen towel, poured some water into the basin and washed his disciples' feet. When it came to Peter's turn he remonstrated, for he did not understand what it meant. So Jesus said "Unless I wash you, you have no part in me," upon which Peter begged him to wash his hands and his head also, but Jesus would not, for it was not needful. And now they were entirely pure—all but one. For by thus washing their feet, and setting forth symbolically in this servile office his ministering love for them, Jesus also meant to indicate the cleansing power of his suffering and death; for it would purify them, and all who like them were even now redeemed and cleansed by fellowship with Jesus, from the last stains of sin which still as it were clung to their feet from their contact with a corrupted world.

When he had finished washing their feet, and had resumed his outer garment and had taken his place again at the table, he exhorted them all to take to heart the example which he, their Lord and Master, had given them, and to serve and cleanse one another in humble love.[1] But alas, there was one traitor lurking amongst them!—When Jesus said this the disciple whom he loved, and who lay next to him at table, turned his head on the Lord's bosom, at a sign from Peter, and asked him secretly who the betrayer was. The Lord indicated Judas by a covert sign, and then told Judas himself to make haste. The others thought he was telling him, as the purse-bearer, to buy something for the approaching Passover, or give something to the poor; and so the betrayer withdrew in the darkness of night.—Then

[1] See p. 76.

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Jesus spoke of being glorified and of going away to a place whither they should follow him afterwards, and he gave them the new commandment of Christian brotherly love, according to his own example: "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one to another."

—What follows next in the Fourth Gospel can hardly be given in a summary. It must be read in its entirety. It consists of a moving series of farewell exhortations and a not less moving prayer for the disciples.[1] It is here that this testimony of faith in Jesus meets us in the fulness of its power and its unsurpassed beauty. Here we learn what the beloved disciple, who shared the spirit of the master, found in him: the only way to the Father, the divine truth and the higher life in very person, the living image of the Father. We learn how he regarded his death: as the entrance upon the glory which had been laid up for him, as the preparation of a place for his loved ones in the Father's house, as the indispensable condition of the coming of the Spirit of truth, of the full and independent growth in spirit of his disciples. We learn the enduring relationship in which he stands to Jesus: it is as his disciple that he henceforth prays to God, it is in his power and by sharing his life that he bears fruit, like a branch that is part of the vine, and he it is who comes back to his friends, in the Spirit of truth, and abides with them. We learn what he owes to Jesus: untroubled peace of soul, courage to bear witness to the Christ in spite of the hatred and persecution of the world, childlike communion with the Father without advocate or mediator, confidence in victory throughout every conflict. We learn the great purpose of the work of Jesus: to glorify the Father by the higher revelation of him brought to mankind, to sanctify all the children of God by this truth, and to bind them by the most exalted love to one another, to their Saviour,

[1] John xiv.—xvii.

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and to their Father, thus making them share the eternal glory of the Son and bringing all mankind to acknowledge his mission. This, and far more than this, finds full and beauteous expression in these chapters. From first to last they are pervaded by a tone to which the strings of our hearts vibrate in harmonious response. It is the tone of a faith which has left the ancient contradictions far behind, or rather far below it, entering into a new world which has opened out before it, and in which it rests in full contentment as in its proper home. It is the tone of a hope which no longer feels or fears the ancient disappointment, for the very reason that it reaches out towards a purely spiritual redemption, which has already gained its provisional fulfilment now, and goes to meet the future with a joyous confidence. In a word, it is here more than anywhere else that we find the inward peace, the unshaken trust, the beauteous harmony of that Christian mind that comes so freely and proudly forth, of that Christian society that is taking shape, as it were, before our very eyes.

In conclusion, let us glance at the account of the glorification of Jesus in suffering, in death, in resurrection!

Accompanied by his disciples Jesus left the city, crossed the brook of Kidron, and entered a garden.[1] It was not because his soul was dismayed, for that was impossible. It was not to seek for strength in prayer, for that was not needful. But this was the usual place of meeting, and was well known as such to Judas, who soon came there with Roman soldiers and Jewish retainers, carrying lanterns and torches. Jesus was not betrayed by a kiss as though he were a victim, but he surrendered himself up freely, stepping forward to meet the band and saying, "Whom seek ye?" They answered, "Jesus of Nazareth;" and when Jesus said,

[1] See pp. 81 ff.

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"I am he!" they fell down upon the earth. Jesus, on his side, took care to provide for the unmolested departure of his disciples, and rebuked Peter, who had cut off the right ear of Malchus, a servant of the High Priest. Should he not drink the cup of suffering which his Father gave him?

He was carried in bonds first to Annas, then to Caiaphas.[1] While Peter denied him, as he had foretold, he was being tried. When questioned as to his followers and his teaching, he referred to his hearers for an answer, saying that he had never taught in secret, but had spoken freely in synagogue and Temple. For that answer one of the attendants struck him in the face, but the quiet rebuke of Jesus was as calm and gentle as ever.

Early in the morning he was taken from Caiaphas to the palace of the governor.[2] The accusers remained outside for fear of becoming unclean, and unfit to eat the Passover in the evening, by treading the floor of a heathen. So Pilate came out to them and asked of what they accused the prisoner. But they abruptly and haughtily declined to set the accusation forth. So Pilate of course said that in that case they must judge the prisoner themselves in accordance with their own Law, and that he had nothing more to do with the matter. But they urged that the right of judging in cases of life and death had been taken away from them.

Then the governor went in again, summoned Jesus, and said to him, "Are you the King of the Jews?"—But Jesus put him to shame by answering, "Have you or your subordinates ever seen it?"—"Am I a Jew, then?" retorted Pilate proudly, "Your own people and the high priests have given you up to me. What is it you have done?"—"My kingdom is not of this world"—such was the lofty declaration of the Lord—"or else my servants would resist

[1] See pp. 93 ff. [2] See pp. 106 ff.

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my surrender to the Jews by force of arms. But my kingdom is of a higher than earthly rank."—"Then you are a king after all?" answered the other.—"It is as you say," replied Jesus. "But for this end came I into the world: to bring the truth to light. Whoever is a child of the truth listens to me."—"What is truth?" said Pilate; and with this sceptic's question on his lips he turned away to go to the Jews again. "I cannot find that he is guilty of anything," he said. "But you have a custom for me to release a prisoner for you at the Passover. Shall it be the King of the Jews?"—"Not him, but Barabbas!" shouted they. Now Barabbas was a robber.

When Jesus had been scourged and mocked Pilate made another attempt to move the Jews. He declared once more that Jesus was innocent, brought him out with the crown of thorns on his temples and the purple robe on his shoulders, and cried, "Behold the man!"—as much as to say, There! look at your unhappy victim!—"Crucify him, crucify him!" shrieked the high priests and their retainers.—"Then do it yourselves, if you can and dare. For I will not be driven into it," answered Pilate angrily.—"Our Law condemns him to death, for he has declared himself to be God's son," cried they, stating the real ground of accusation at last.—"Son of a god!" thought Pilate, "I must look into that." So he went back and said to Jesus, "In very truth whence art thou?"—There was no reply. The irritated governor burst into a passion, but the calm and lofty bearing of Jesus brought him to himself again. Indeed he would have set him at liberty there and then, had he not been restrained by an implied threat of the Jews that they would accuse him before the emperor of siding with rioters. It was towards noon when at last he put himself in the seat of judgment, and after a last feeble protest condemned Jesus to the cross.

So he was led out to Golgotha and crucified between two

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others.[1] The high priests protested against the superscription, but in vain. It ran: *Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews*, and was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.—In this last language the initial letters would be I. N. R. I., and this is why we see these letters above the cross in pictures. The soldiers divided his upper garments by tearing them into four shares; but his under garment was woven in a single piece without a seam, like that of the priests, so for it they cast lots. Thus was the Scripture literally fulfilled.[2] By the cross were standing the mother of Jesus, her sister Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary of Magdala. Now, when Jesus saw his mother, and the disciple whom he loved near to her, he conferred upon him the lofty task of taking his place as her son. "Woman," he said to his mother, "behold your son!" and to the disciple, "Behold your mother!" From that time forth the disciple took her to his home.—Thus by the last expression of his will did the Christ commend and entrust his mother, that is the community, to his beloved disciple, passing over all the others.[3]—Knowing that all the predictions of the Scripture were now fulfilled, Jesus said, "I thirst." A sponge was dipped into some vinegar that stood there and put to his lips on a stick of hyssop. He took the refreshing draught, cried out, "Finished!" bowed down his head and gave up the ghost.

Now the coming sabbath was also the first day of the Passover and was therefore specially sacred, and for this reason the Jews wished the bodies to be taken down beforehand, and obtained the governor's consent that it should be so.[4] In such a case the criminals must have their legs broken with a crowbar and must then be dispatched. This was accordingly done to the two malefactors, but not to

[1] See pp. 118 ff.
[2] See Vo III., p. 408. [3] See p. 405, and Vol. V., p. 298
[4] Deuteronomy xxi. 22, 23.

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Jesus, for he was dead already. He was the true Pascal lamb and no bone of his must be broken, for so the Scripture ordained.[1] But one of the soldiers, again in accordance with Scripture,[2] ran a spear into his side and there flowed out blood and water: the symbol of the atonement by his death and the purification by his spirit. Such is the veriest truth concerning the suffering on the cross, made manifest by him who has seen it and experienced it, for the strengthening of the faith of the Christians!

Presently Joseph of Arimathea was assisted in the burial by Nicodemus, who brought a hundred pounds of a mixture of myrrh and aloes. The body was carefully swathed in cloths, together with these strong spices, according to Jewish custom, and then was taken to a garden close by the place of execution and laid in a tomb that had never before been used. The place was chosen because it was so near, and the approach of the sabbath made it needful to hasten.

But this was not the end.[3] On Sunday morning, while it was yet dark, Mary Magdalene went to the garden. There she saw the stone rolled away from the cave and perceived at once that the grave was empty. She hurried with the sad news to Peter and the disciple whom Jesus loved. At once they both hastened to the spot. Peter was the last to reach it, but the first to enter the tomb, where he found the swathing bands and the napkin for the head laid there clean and in due order. When the other saw this he had faith, even before the Christ had appeared to anyone. Then they went back again.

Meanwhile Mary stayed weeping at the grave. But when she bent down to cast a glance at the deserted resting place, she saw through her tears that an angel was sitting where the head had lain, and another where the feet had been.

[1] Exodus xii. 46; Numbers ix. 12. [2] Zechariah xii. 10.
[3] See pp. 137 ff.

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And the words fell upon her ear: "Woman! why dost thou weep?"—"Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him," she sobbed as she turned away. And there stood Jesus himself by her side, but she knew him not, and thought he was the keeper of the garden. "Woman! why dost thou weep? Whom dost thou seek?" he asked.—"Ah, sir," she cried, "if you have borne him away, do but tell me where, and I will take him." Then she heard that never-forgotten voice exclaim: "Mary!"—"My Master!" she exclaimed in transport, and turned to embrace his knees. But he said: "Touch me not! for though I have not yet ascended, yet tell my brothers that even now I ascend, to my Father and their Father, to my God and theirs." Mary understood him. The personal relations of bygone days had come to an end. She went and told the disciples what had happened, and what the Lord had said.

That Sunday evening as they were together, with doors closed for fear of the Jews, Jesus suddenly stood amongst them. "Peace be to you!" he said; and to remove the possibility of doubt he showed them the marks of the nails and the spear in his hands and side. Then he committed to them his own mission, the task which God had given him, breathed the Holy Spirit upon them and gave them power to forgive sins.

Now Thomas, one of the Twelve, was not with them that evening, and when the others told him that they had seen the Lord he said he would never believe it, unless convinced by seeing and touching with his own eyes and hands. His demand was met. A week afterwards they were together in the same room, Thomas with them this time, and Jesus was again in the midst of them, though the doors were shut. He gave them his greeting of peace, and, knowing all things, he asked Thomas to put his finger

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in the wounds of the nails, and his hand into his side, and then to renounce his unbelief. Convinced that his Master was indeed glorified, Thomas now cried "My Lord, and my God!"—"Because thou seest me, thou believest," said Jesus, "but blessed are they who see not, and yet believe!"—Yes! That is the true faith which he demands, and has a right to demand; the faith which, without any material sign, recognises and confesses him as the Prince of Life, who has and who gives eternal life.

Jesus did many other signs also before the eyes of his disciples, but those which have now been mentioned are recorded so that everyone who reads this Gospel may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and on the strength of that faith may have life eternal in him who transcends all praise.

The purpose, then, of the disciple whom Jesus loved, in bearing his testimony, was to communicate and strengthen that faith that wakes to life. It was for this purpose that he strove to open out to others the treasures of divine grace and truth which he himself had found in the Christ, so that everyone, without any outward sign, simply on the ground of the glory and the wealth of his spirit, might receive him for his own sake. Beyond question the disciple has accomplished this purpose in thousands of lives, and his "spiritual Gospel" has won thousands of hearts for the Christ.

As we close his work, therefore, and ask, "Has he any right to the title he gives himself of the friend who shared the spirit of Jesus?" we cannot hesitate to answer in the affirmative. His right is unquestionable. Better than any of the early messengers of Christ did he perceive and teach the power and worth of Christianity as the new principle of human life. His name remains unknown, and we cannot, therefore, so much as look for the traces of his

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personal influence. In this respect, accordingly, we cannot bring him into comparison with Paul, or with any of those others of whom he makes Christ declare "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever believes in me, the works which I do shall he do also, and yet greater works shall he do; for I go to the Father."[1] But in religious genius he transcends them all by the lofty flight of his spirit, by the depth of his feeling, and his exaltation above the strife and the disappointment of the Apostolic age.

It is quite another question whether the author of the appendix is right in assigning to the disciple whom Jesus loved the spiritual guidance of Christianity through the whole course of the ages. To this question we must emphatically answer "No!" Not even this disciple fully understood and appreciated the Master. Not even he exhausted the treasures which are offered us in the life and the gospel of Jesus. When we place even him by the side of the Master, we see how far he has fallen short of his task. Not even he, therefore, can "abide." It is not only that the form in which he presents his thoughts and experiences is too closely connected with the philosophy of his age to be permanently available. For his weaknesses are also apparent in the substance of his work, and especially in his conception of the world of man as divided into the children of God and the children of the devil.

Jesus made no such separation. Even in those who had strayed farthest, who had sunk deepest, who had become most shamelessly corrupt, he still beheld the very sons and daughters of God, lost indeed but not past finding again, degenerate but not past raising up, dead but not past recalling to life. His gospel of God's love even to the most insignificant and the indestructible worth of man, is the great truth which is destined to reform the world, to sanctify and

[1] John xiv. 12.

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perfect society, to contend against, mitigate, or remove all moral and social misery, to realise the conception of the kingdom of God. The inexhaustible wealth and depth of that principle of the right, the worth, the destiny of every several man as a child of the heavenly Father, is the legacy of Jesus to us and to succeeding generations. In our personal life and social work it gives us the light of truth, it gives us strength for the battle, it brings us the encouragement of hope, the secret of elastic power, the pledge of triumph. With that gospel, made flesh as it were in his person, Jesus still guides the development of humanity, and will continue to guide it until he has inspired all his brothers with the full consciousness of their divine origin and destiny—and then, to borrow Paul's beautiful description of the future, he will give up the kingdom to the Father, that God may be all in all.[1]

And this has been strikingly pourtrayed as the course of history by the author of the Fourth Gospel himself, when he puts upon the lips of the departing Christ this declaration to his disciples, "I have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now. Yet when the Spirit of truth comes he will lead you to the whole truth, and will teach you to understand how the Kingdom of God must yet develop itself on earth, He will glorify me, for *he will take from my treasure* to give to you. All that the Father has is mine."[2]

The disciple whom Jesus loved, however, has reached a point of development which not only stands out from that of the old Catholic Church as the ideal over against a miserably defective reality, but also far transcends anything which the Christianity of to-day as a whole has as yet attained to; and within the New Testament the Fourth Gospel must be regarded as the ripest and fairest fruit of the spirit of Jesus.

[1] 1 Corinthians xv. 24, 28. [2] John xvi. 12—15*a*.

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The first Epistle of John soon issued from the same school in imitation of the Gospel. Listen to the testimony it bears. "See how great love the Father has shown us, that we should be called and should be the children of God! We shall at last be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is. Whosoever cherishes this hope in Him purifies himself even as He is pure. For this is love of God, to keep his commandments; and his commandments are not hard. And as for us, we know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brothers."[1] These words, it is true, are not uttered by the writer of the Fourth Gospel, but they are very certainly from the "disciple whom Jesus loved." And now if we would hear in this disciple's words, as the best interpretation of the Master's spirit, the main contents of the Christian faith in God, let us listen to three sayings, the most beautiful and noble with which we can close our Bible for Young People.[2] May they be to our readers like so many dear and trusted load-stars to guide them on the way of life:

"The hour cometh, and now is, when the truly devout shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for such are the worshippers the Father seeks. GOD IS SPIRIT, and they who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

"This is the message brought to us through the Christ, and to you through us, that GOD IS LIGHT, and in Him there is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with Him and yet walk in the darkness, we are liars. But if we walk in the light, like as He is in the light, then we have fellowship one with another."

"Let us love one another, for love is from God, and he who loves is born of God, and knows God. He who loves

[1] 1 John iii. 1*a*, 2*b*, 3, 14, v. 3.
[2] John iv. 23, 24; 1 John i. 5—7*a*, iv. 7, 8, 16*b*.

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not, knows not God at all, for God is Love. He who abides in love, abides in God, and God in him."

Blessed is he whose heart receives this truth, whose life sets a seal upon it: God is Spirit! God is Light! God is Love! And, from the bottom of our hearts, we wish that blessing to each one of our readers.

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CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY.

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CHRONOLOGY

OF

ISRAEL.		PEOPLES STANDING IN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.
B.C.		
About 1320. The Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt.		Between 1280 and 1260 B.C. Expeditions of Ramses III. against Canaan.
About 1260. Settlement of the Israelites in Canaan. Period of the Judges. Samuel. Schools of the Prophets. Saul's reign.		
About 1058-1018. David's reign.		
About 1018-978. Solomon's reign.		Hiram, king of Tyre.
978.* Separation of the Two Kingdoms.		
JUDA.	ISRAEL.	
978. Rehoboam.	978. Jeroboam.	Shishak, king of Egypt.
957. Abijah.		
955. Asa.	954. Nadab.	
	953. Baasha.	Benhadad I., king of Syria.
	930. Elah. Zimri.	
	924. Omri. Samaria becomes the royal residence.	
	918. Ahab.	Benhadad II., king of Syria.
914. Jehoshaphat	The Prophet Elijah.	Mesha, king of Moab.
	897. Ahaziah.	
	896. Jehoram. The Prophet Elisha.	
889. Jehoram *m.* Athaliah, daughter of Ahab.		
884. Ahaziah.	884. Jehu.	Hazael, king of Syria.
884. Athaliah.		
878. Joash.	856. Jehoahaz.	
	840. Joash.	
838. Amaziah. Joash conquers Juda.		Benhadad III., king of Syria.

* All the dates in the history of Juda and Israel, from Solomon to the battle of Carchemium (605), must be regarded as merely approximate.

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CHRONOLOGY

OF

OTHER PEOPLES. B.C.	ISRAELITE LITERATURE.
	The "Decalogue" (Ten Commandments.)?
About 1100. The return of the Heraclidæ.	Song of Deborah (Judges v.)
1068. Codrus, the last king of Athens.	David's poems (2 Sam. i. 19-27; and iii. 33, 34.) Genesis xlix.
Lycurgus in Sparta.	
Carthage founded.	
	The "Book of the Covenant" (Exodus xxi. 1—xxiii. 19.)

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ISRAEL.		PEOPLES STANDING IN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.
JUDA.	ISRAEL.	
B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
	823. Jeroboam II. Most flourishing period of the kingdom.	
809. Uzziah.		
	770. Zachariah.	770 Pul, king of Assyria.
	771. Shallum.	
	771. Menahem. Israel made tributary to Syria.	
	760. Pekahiah.	
758. Jotham.	758. Pekah.	
741. Ahaz. Judah made tributary to Assyria.	First deportation to Assyria.	740. Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria. Rezin, king of Syria.
	729. Hoshea.	
725. Hezekiah.		726-721. Shalmaneser, king of Assyria.
Reformation in Judah.	719. Fall of the kingdom of Israel.	721-704. Sargon, king of Assyria.
712. The Assyrians in Judah.		
		704-681. Sennacherib, king of Assyria.
699. Manasseh, king of Judah.		692-666. Tirhakah, king of Egypt.
		681-667. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria
Assyrian colonists in Israel.		666-656. Dodecarchy in Egypt.
		666-612. Psammetichus I., king of Egypt.
644. Amon.		647-625. Sardanapalus, king of Assyria.
643. Josiah.		
626. Religious reformation. Idolatry rooted out in Judah, and even in Israel.		612-596. Necho II., king of Egypt.
609. Battle of Megiddo.		
609. Jehoahaz.		
608.*Jehoiakim ascends the throne as the vassal of Egypt.		605. Battle of Carchesium.
598. Jehoiakin.		604-562. Nebuchadrezzar.
597. First deportation by the Chaldees.		
Zedekiah.		585. Nebuchadrezzar besieges Tyre.
586. Jerusalem and the Temple devastated.		

* All the dates in the history of Juda and Israel, from Solomon to the battle of Carchesium (605), must be regarded as merely approximate.

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B.C	OTHER PEOPLES.	ISRAELITE LITERATURE.
		ASSYRIAN PERIOD.
		Psalm xlv., Deuteronomy xxxiii., Numbers xxii.-xxiv., Amos, Hosea, Zachariah ix.-xi. Prophetic narratives in the Pentateuch. Narratives in Judges and Samuel. Song of Solomon.
About 800 (?)	the religion of Zarathustra rises in Bactria.	
776.	First Olympiad.	
753.	Foundation of Rome.	
		Deuteronomy xxxii.
		Michah, Isaiah.
		Collection of Proverbs begun (xxv.-xxix.)
715.	Numa Pompilius, king of Rome.	Exodus xxxii. (in part).
636-546.	Thales.	
620.	Draco in Athens.	Deuteronomy.
		CHALDEAN PERIOD.
616.	Tarquinius Priscus, king of Rome.	Nahum, Zephaniah, Zachariah xii.-xiv., Habakkuk.
604.	Lao-tze born.	Jeremiah. Many of the Psalms.
594.	Solon in Athens.	

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ISRAEL.	PEOPLES STANDING IN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.
B.C.	B.C.
586. Second deportation. Gedaliah, governor of Judah.	
582. Gedaliah murdered. Jeremiah carried to Egypt.	
582. Third deportation to Babylonia.	
	559. Revolt of Cyrus against Astyages.
538. Return of the Jews under Zerubbabel.	
	530-522. Cambyses.
	525. Egypt conquered by the Persians.
519. Second Temple completed.	521-485. Darius Hystaspis.
	485-465. Xerxes.
458. Ezra reaches Palestine with several thousand of the exiles.	465-424. Artaxerxes Longimanus.
445. Nehemiah, governor of the Jews.	
444. Introduction of the Mosaic Law.	
	424-405. Darius Nothus.
414? Nehemiah arrives in Palestine for the second time.	405-359. Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon).
	374. Defeat of Pharnabazus.
	359-338. Artaxerxes III. (Ochus).
	350. Sidon laid waste.
	336-330 Darius Codomannus, last king of Persia.
	336. Alexander, king of Macedon.
About 332. Palestine becomes subject to Alexander the Great. Jaddua, high priest.	333. Battle of Issus.
320. Ptolemy takes Jerusalem.	323. Death of Alexander the Great.
314. Antigonus conquers Palestine and Phœnicia.	
301. Palestine falls back into the power of Ptolemy.	
About 285. Death of the high priest Simon I.	
285-265. Eleazar, high priest. Wars between Egypt and Syria. Antigonus of Socho.	
265-240. Manasseh, high priest.	

KINGS OF EGYPT.	KINGS OF SYRIA.
Ptolemy I., Lagi (till 285).	Seleucus I., Nicator (till 280).
285-247. Ptolemy II., Philadelphus	280-261. Antiochus I., Soter.
	261-246. Antiochus II., Theo.

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B.C.	OTHER PEOPLES.	ISRAELITE LITERATURE.
580-500.	Pythagoras.	
570-500.	Anaximenes.	Earliest edition of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Lamentations, Psalms xiv. (liii.), cxxxvii., xc., etc., Obadiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah xl.-lxvi., xiv. 4-21, xxxv., etc., Jeremiah li., lii.
560.	Crœsus in Lydia. Peisistratus in Athens.	
550-478.	Confucius.	
534.	Tarquinius Superbus, king of Rome.	
510.	Expulsion of the Tarquins.	
500.	Heraclitus.	PERSIAN PERIOD.
500-428.	Anaxagoras.	Haggai. Zechariah i.—ix. Joel.
490.	Battle of Marathon.	
480.	Battle of Salamis.	
484-408.	Herodotus. Age of Pericles (died 429). Phidias, Sophocles.	Book of Origins. Many of the priestly laws in Leviticus and Numbers.
460-370.	Democritus.	Ruth. Jonah.
469-399.	Socrates.	
431-404.	Peloponnesian war.	
429-348.	Plato, Xenophon.	
		Malachi. Job. Many of the Psalms and Proverbs.
388.	Death of Buddha.	
385-322.	Aristotle, Demosthenes.	
360.	Philip, king of Macedon.	
		GREEK PERIOD.
264-241.	First Punic War.	Final Edition of the Pentateuch and Joshua. Chronicles. Ezra. Nehemiah.

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ISRAEL. B.C.	PEOPLES STANDING IN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. B.C. Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Syria.
240-225. Joseph ben Tobias farms the revenues of Palestine.	247-222. Ptolemy III., Euergetes.	246-226. Seleucus II., Callinicus.
240-225. Onias II., high priest.		226-223. Seleucus III., Ceraunos.
225-195. Simon II., high priest.		
218. Antiochus the Great conquers Palestine.		223-187. Antiochus
217. Palestine subject to Egypt.	222-205. Ptolemy IV. Philopater.	III., the Great.
203. Antiochus reconquers Palestine.	203. Battle of Paneas.	
198. War in Palestine between Egypt and Syria.	202-181. Ptolemy V., Epiphanes.	
		187-175. Seleucus V., Philopater.
195-175. Onias III., high priest.	181-146. Ptolemy VI., Philometer	
182-175. Hyrcanus ben Joseph.		
175. Jason buys the high priesthood. Theatrical performances in Jerusalem.		175-164. Antiochus IV., Epiphanes.
174. Antiochus IV. at Jerusalem.		
172. Menelaus, high priest.	170. War between Syria and Egypt Battle of Pelusium.	
168. Jerusalem taken by Antiochus.		
167 (25 Chisleu). The temple service at Jerusalem suspended.		
166. Revolt of Mattathias and his sons. Defeat of Apollonius.		
164 (25 Chisleu). Temple service restored.	170-117. Ptolemy VII., Euergetes II., Physcon.	164-162. Antiochus V., Eupator.
162. Judas defeats Nicanor.		162-150. Demetrius I., Soter.
161. Death of Judas. Jose ben Joezer and Jose ben Jochanan.	About 160. Temple at On established.	
159. Death of the high priest Alcimus. Jonathan, the leader of the people.		
152. Jonathan, high priest.		153-145. Alexander Balas.
143. Jonathan captured by Tryphon and soon afterwards murdered. Simon, high priest.		145-140 and 131-127. Demetrius II.
142. Judæa becomes independent.		145-143. Antiochus VI.
141. Capture of Gezer and the citadel at Jerusalem.		140-131. Antiochus VII., Sidetes.
135. Simon murdered.		

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B.C.	OTHER PEOPLES.	ISRAELITE LITERATURE.
		Esther. Many of the Psalms. Translation of the Law of Moses into Greek. The proverbs of Jesus ben Sirach.
218-201.	Second Punic War. Battle of Zama.	
193-190.	Antiochus III. at war with Rome.	
193.	Antiochus defeated at Magnesia	Ecclesiastes.
		Book of Daniel. Psalms xliv., lxxiv., cxviii., and others.
149.	Third Punic War.	Baruch. The Epistle of Jeremiah.
148.	Macedon becomes a Roman province.	
146.	Carthage and Corinth sacked.	

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ISRAEL.	PEOPLES STANDING IN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.
B.C.	B.C.
135-105. John Hyrcanus, high priest and prince of the Jews.	
120. Temple on Gerizim destroyed.	
110. Samaria taken by the Jews.	
106-105. Aristobulus, high priest and king.	
105-78. Alexander Jannæus, high priest and king.	113-95. Antiochus Cyzicenus.
96. Gaza taken.	
85-82. Alexander wages war beyond the Jordan.	
78-69. Alexandra Salome, queen. Hyrcanus, high priest. Juda ben Tabbai and Simeon ben Setah.	
69. Aristobulus expels Hyrcanus, and becomes high priest and king.	
66. War between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.	66. Pompey in Asia.
64. Scaurus at Damascus.	64. Syria becomes a Roman province.
63. Pompey at Damascus.	
61. Pompey takes Jerusalem. Hyrcanus II. high priest and ethnarch.	
57-55. Revolt in Judæa.	57-55. Gabinius, governor of Syria.
54. Crassus plunders the Temple.	54-53. Crassus, governor of Syria.
47. Aristobulus poisoned at Rome. Hyrcanus II. recognised by Cæsar as ethnarch of Judæa. Antipater, procurator of Judæa. Herod, governor of Galilee. Shemaiah and Abtalion.	47-46. Sextus Cæsar, governor of Syria.
	44-42. Syria under Cassius.
42. Herod enters Jerusalem in triumph.	
40-37. Antigonus ascends the throne by the aid of the Parthians.	40. The Parthians in Syria.
40. The Roman Senate nominates Herod king.	
37. Jerusalem taken by Herod. Hillel and Shammai.	
	31. Battle of Actium.
24. Boethus, the Alexandrian, high priest.	31 B.C.-14 A.D. Augustus, emperor.
19-10. Erection of Herod's temple.	23-13. Agrippa, Imperial legate in Asia.
15. Agrippa at Jerusalem.	
10. Completion of Cæsarea by Herod.	
4. Death of Herod. War of Varus.	

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OTHER PEOPLES.	ISRAELITE LITERATURE.
B.C.	
133-120. The Gracchi at Rome.	Sibylline Oracles, iii. 97-807.
	132. Proverbs of Jesus Sirach translated into Greek.
	Oldest portions of book of Enoch.
	About 106. I. Maccabees. Soon afterwards II. Maccabees.
84. End of the Mithridatic war.	Additions to Esther. Tobit.
82. Sulla, dictator.	Prayer of Manasseh.
63. Conspiracy of Catiline.	
	ROMAN PERIOD.
58-50. Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul.	
49. Cæsar crosses the Rubicon.	
48. Battle of Pharsalia. Death of Pompey.	Psalms of Solomon.
44 (March 15). Death of Cæsar.	
42. Battle of Philippi.	
41. Second Triumvirate. Antony obtains the East.	

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ISRAEL.	PEOPLES STANDING IN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.
B.C.	B.C.
4. Archelaus, ethnarch of Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa. Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa. Philip, tetrarch of the northern district east of the Jordan.	
A.D.	A.D.
6. Archelaus banished. Judæa incorporated in Syria. Quirinus holds a census. Coponius, procurator of Judæa. Revolt of Judas the Galilæan.	
9-12. Marcus Ambivius, procurator.	
12-15. Annius Rufus, ,,	
15-26. Valerius Gratus, ,,	14-37. Tiberius.
26-36. Pontius Pilate, ,, Desecration of Che city of the Temple.	
18-36. Joseph, surnamed Caiaphas, high priest.	
	32. Avellius Flaccus, governor of Egypt.
34. Death of Philip. His territory becomes a Roman province. Rabban Gamaliel.	
	36-39. Vitellius, governor of Syria.
37. Agrippa I., king of Philip's territory. Birth of Flavius Josephus.	37-41. Caius Caligula.
38-40. Persecution of the Jews in Alexandria. Philo.	
39. Herod Antipas banished. Caligula determines to desecrate the Temple.	39. Petronius, governor of Syria.
41-44. Agrippa I., king of the whole of Palestine.	41-54. Claudius.
44. Palestine a Roman province. Famine in Judæa.	
44-46. Cuspius Fadus, governor. Theudas.	
46-48. Tiberius Alexander, governor.	
48. The Jews expelled from Rome.	47. The royal house of Adiabene converted to Judaism.
48. Agrippa II., prince of Chalcis and overseer of the Temple.	
48-52. Cumanus, governor. Repeated revolts of the Jews.	
52-61. Claudius Felix, governor. Growing power of the Sicarii. Simon ben Gamaliel.	

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OTHER PEOPLES.	ISRAELITE LITERATURE.
B.C.	
	Ascension of Moses.
A.D.	
9. Arminius defeats Varus in the German forests.	
CHRISTIANITY.	
33? John the Baptist.	
34-35? Public ministry of Jesus.	Susanna. Bel and the Dragon.
35? (At the Passover.) Jesus crucified at Jerusalem.	III. Maccabees. Wisdom.
37? Persecution of the disciples (Stephen). Paul converted.	
40? Paul at Jerusalem with Peter (Galatians i. 18).	Philo.
44? Death of James, the son of Zebedee.	
Between 40? and 51? Paul (and Barnabas) in Syria and Cilicia.	
51? Conference at Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 1-11). Dispute between Peter and Paul at Antioch (Gal. ii. 12 ff).	
52? Paul in Galatia. Paul in Europe. Paul at Corinth.	

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ISRAEL.	PEOPLES STANDING IN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.
A.D.	A.D.
	54-68. Nero.
60. Portius Festus, governor.	
62. Albinus, governor. Constant disturbances in Palestine.	
64. The Temple of Jerusalem completed by Agrippa II.	64 (July). Conflagration of Rome. (August) Persecution of the Christians.
64-66. Gessius Florus, governor.	
66. Revolt at Cæsarea and Jerusalem. Masada surprised. Cestius defeated. Many Christians retreat to Pella. Flavius Josephus, governor of Galilee.	
67. Galilee in the power of the Romans.	
68. Vespasian conquers Northern Judæa and Idumæa.	68. Galba, Otho, Vitellius.
	69-79. Vespasian.
70. Titus besieges and takes Jerusalem. Temple destroyed.	70. Titus enters Rome in triumph.
73. Masada, the last refuge of the Zelots, taken.	
The Scribes retreat to Jamnia.	
Johanan ben Zacchai.	
Fall of the Temple at On.	
Gamaliel ben Simeon, patriarch of the Jews.	79-81. Titus.
The new Sanhedrin at Jamnia	
81-96. Persecution of the Jews under Domitian.	81-96. Domitian.
	96-98. Nerva.
116. Revolt of the Jews in Cyrene and Egypt.	98-117. Trajan.
	117-138. Hadrian.
132-135. Revolt under Barcochbah. Taking of Betar. Akibah ben Joseph.	
135. Jerusalem a Roman city. Scribes assemble at Lydda. The national existence of the Jews at an end.	138-161. Antoninus Pius.
	161-180. Marcus Aurelius.

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CHRISTIANITY.	ISRAELITE LITERATURE.
A.D.	A.D.
54? *I. Thessalonians?*	
55-59? Paul at Ephesus and Corinth.	
56? *Galatians.*	
58? *I. and II. Corinthians.*	
59? *Romans.*	
59? Paul goes to Jerusalem and is made prisoner.	
59-61? Paul at Cæsarea.	
61-62? Paul's journey to Rome.	
62-64? Paul's imprisonment at Rome. *II. Timothy* i. 1, 2, 15-18; iv. 9-18? *Philippians. Philemon.*	
64. Paul's death.	IV. Maccabees.
62 or 69? James murdered.	Book of Jubilees.
68. *Revelation.*	
Before 70? *Oldest portions of Matthew and Mark.*	After 70. Judith. Close of the Canon.
? Hebrews. II. Thessalonians. Colossians.	
	Before 79. Josephus's "Jewish War."
About 90? *James.* Gospels according to *Matthew* and *Mark.*	Apocalypse of Baruch. IV. Esdras.
Soon after 100. *I. Peter. Ephesians.* Gospel according to *Luke.* Soon followed by *Acts of Apostles.*	93 or 94. Josephus's "Jewish Antiquities," and "Against Apion."
After 130? *II. Timothy. Titus. I. Timothy. Jude.*	After 100. Josephus's "Life."
Before 150? Gospel according to *John. I. John. II. John. III. John.*	Mishna of Rabbi Akibah, Mechilta, Siphrê, Siphra.
After 150? *II. Peter.* Epistle of Barnabas. Epistle of Clement.	Near the end of the second century Rabbi Judah gives the Mishna its present form.
170. Church history of Hegesippus.	

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INDICES.

COMPILED BY J. T.

I.—Table of Biblical Passages Translated, Explained, or Illustrated.

II.—Index of Subjects.

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INDEX I.

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